ENKI'S JOURNEY TO NIPPUR:
THE JOURNEYS OF THE GODS

Abdul-Hadi A. Al-Fouadi

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Åke W. Sjöberg
Supervisor of Dissertation

Ludo Rocher
Graduate Group Chairman

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Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to all my colleagues in the Babylonian Section, the University Museum, Philadelphia, for their encouragement.

GLOSSARY

(of selected terms discussed in this dissertation)

a-a 15 note 26; 76^{129}.

a-akkil (= a-GADA. KÍD. SI) $94^{59^{a}}$.

a-aš-a 149^{100}f.

a-aš-àm 150.

-a-ba $69^{1,3}$; 110^{1}.

a-da-man— di/sá 157.

a-dá-man— e 155^{112}f., and note 9 on p. 156.

a-eštub 28.

$^{\text{kuš}}$á-lá 147^{94}.

á-múš 128^{43}.

á-mùš 128^{43}.

a-ù-a 24.

aba$_{x}$ (= AB) 129^{53-54}.

abgal (= NUN. ME) 128^{48}f.

ad 133.

ad—gi$_{4}$-gi$_{4}$ 116^{14}; 146^{91}.

ad— ša$_{4}$ 134^{65}.

akkil (= GADA. KÍD. SI) 130^{59}.

akkil (= GADA. KÍD. SI. A) $94^{59^{a}}$.

$^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-zu-balag-sur$_{x}$(= GIŠ. ÙZ. BALAG)-da 131^{62-64}.

$^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-balag-sur$_{x}$(= ÙZ. BALAG)-za 131^{62-64}.

ar— túm 117^{17}f.

ár— túm 117^{17}f.

aš-àm 150.

ba-ba(r) 104^{113c}; 157^{113}f.

bi-bi(r) 104^{113c}.

búr 133f.

da 130^{57}.

-da- (verbal infix) 15 note 26; 38 note 78.

^{d}da-mu 37 with note 71.

dé 148^{98}.

dù $69^{6, 11, 13}$; 129^{52}.

du$_8$ 146^{89}.

du$_{11}$ 158^{114}.

du$_{12}$ (= TUK) 130^{60}f.

dug-ti-lim-da 157^{113}.

duḫ (= GABA) 150^{101}f.

duḫ-a 150^{101}.

duḫ-babbar 150^{101}.

duḫ-du 150^{101}.

duḫ-ḫa-al-ḫa-al 151.

duḫ-kaš-gi$_6$ 151.

duḫ-sig$_5$ 150^{101}.

duḫ-u$_4$-tab-ba 150^{101}f.

e-ne — è 141.

é-gal-maḫ 38 with note 74; 41.

é-nun 36 note 70.

è 69^{9}.

egir 25.

eme-sig 44 notes 88 and 89.

engur 124^{34}.

enkum (= EN.PAP.SIG$_7$.NUN.ME.EZENxKAS) 12 note 20; 13; 119 note 1.
éš 146^{89}.
èš 113^{8}; 152^{104}.
gaba-šu-gar 129^{53-54}.
gal-zabar 149^{99}.
gal-le-eš 114^{12}f.
galam-kad$_5$ 135^{74}.
gaz 146^{93}.
gi-dub-ba-an 127^{41}f.
gi-gun$_4$-na 148^{97}.
gi-ḫenbur 28.
gi-kid 122^{29}f.
gi-sal-la 117^{15}.
gi-sun 28.
gi-zabar 149^{99}.
gi$_4$-zabar 149.
gi-zi 142.
gi$_6$ 70^{17}.
giš-al-gar 134^{66}.
giš-gi-muš 144^{86}f.
giš-gisal (= BI.IZ) 145^{87}.
giš-sag-kul 121^{26}.
giš-si-gar 121^{27}f.
giš-ùr 122^{28}.
gal$_4$ (= SAL) 138.
geštug 138.

gú 115^{13}.

gú-bar 137.

gù-nun — di 117^{16}.

gù — sum 119^{20}f.; 135^{70}.

gu$_4$ — gaz 146^{93}.

gu$_4$-ud^{kua} 139$^{78-80}$.

gudá 12.

^{d}gu-nu-ra 37 with note 71.

gùn (= DAR) 114^{11}.

gur$_4$-gur$_4$ 155^{111}.

^{giš}ḫar-ḫar 132.

ḫáš 136$^{76-77}$f.

ḫáš-gal 136$^{76-77}$f.

ḫaš$_4$(= ZUM) 136$^{76-77}$f.

ḫaš$_4$ — gá-gá 139.

ḫé-gál 69^{2}.

ḫúl 38 note 78.

ḫúl (-la) — túm 143^{82}; 158^{116}.

i- (thematic particle) 69^{11}.

i-dal 12 note 19.

i-dib 123^{32}.

i$_7$-mir$_x$-sig (= i$_7$-SAL+SILA$_4$-SIG) 46 note 93.

i-zi-šè 140f.

íb 137.

im-du-du 144^{86}.

imin 134^{67}.

inim — du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ 115^{14}f.

isimu(d) [=^{d}PAP.SIG$_7$.NUN.ME.EZENxKAS) 118^{18}f.

KAxEŠ-KAxEŠ 124^{37}f.

KAxLI-KAxLI 124^{37}f.

KAxMI-KAxMI 124^{37}f.

KAxŠE-KAxŠE 124^{37}f.

kar 146^{90}.

kár-kár $104^{113^{c}}$; 110^{7}.

KASKAL.$\begin{smallmatrix}\text{LAGABxU}\\ \text{LAGABxU}\end{smallmatrix}$ 44 note 88.

$\begin{smallmatrix}\text{KASKAL. LAGABxU}\\ \text{KASKAL. LAGABxU}\end{smallmatrix}$ 44 note 88.

ki-bi-šè —— è 148.

ki-bi-šè —— gi$_4$ 147^{94}.

ki-gar 120^{21}; 128^{42}.

ki-in-dar 110^{3}.

ki-maḫ 153^{106}.

ki-tuš 44 note 88.

ki-ús-ki-ús 154^{109}.

ki-ús(-sa) 129^{56}.

ku 136^{75}.

KU 146^{89}.

^{dug}ku-kur-rú 150^{101}.

ku$_6$-da 28.

kun-sù(-sù) 142.

kun$_4$(= I.LU) 123^{32}.

kur$_7$(= IGI+ZALÁG) —— ak 126^{38}.

lá 129^{53-54}.

làl-ḫar 125^{38}.

má-an-na 10; 13; 14.

me-te(-gál) 123^{33}.

^{giš}mi-rí-tum 132f.

mí — du$_{11}$ 120^{23}.

mir-mir 104^{113c}.

^{d}MUŠ 144^{86}f., with notes 5-6 on p. 145.

mùš-kù-galam-du$_{11}$-ga 113^{9}f.

nam-giš-šub 159^{125}.

nam — tar(-tar) $69^{1,5}$.

nam-šub 159^{125}.

ne-mur-dub (= NE. ḪAR. DUB) 10 note 13.

ní-ba 146^{89}.

ní-bi-šè 127^{40}.

ní — gál 143^{83}.

ní-ir$_{9}$(=GÌR) — ak 152^{102}.

ní šu-ti-a 120^{24}.

nì-làl-làl 152^{103}.

nì-lu-lu 152^{103}.

^{d}nin-gír-su 15 note 26.

^{d}nin-urta 15 note 26.

ninda — kú 152^{105}.

ninkum (= NIN. PAP. SIG$_{7}$. NUN. ME. EZENxKAS) 119 note 1.

nir-gam-ma 123^{30}.

nundum/n (= KAxNUN) 133.

^{d}pa-bíl-sag 15 note 26.

ri 15 note 26; 159^{121}.

^{giš}sa-bí-tum 132f.

sá — du$_{11}$ 147^{94}.

sá-sá 151.

sa$_7$(= SIG$_7$) 136^{76-77}.

sag 25.

si-a 135^{74}f.

si(g) 120^{22}.

si—sá 159^{119}; 159^{125}.

síg-sag-gú 137.

sìg (= PA) 124^{36}.

sig$_4$ 69^{14}.

su-kalam-ma zi-zi 129^{55}.

su-zi—ri 143^{84}f.

sù(g) 129^{50}.

su$_8$-su$_8$(g) 114^{10}; 158^{118}.

suḫur^{kua} 28; 137^{78-80}f.

sur 150.

ša- (affirmative performative) 15 note 26.

šà-ní-ba 134^{65}.

še-gu-nu 28.

še$_x$, šed$_7$(= MÙŠ. DI) 152^{103}.

šèm (= ÁBxKÁRA) 147^{95}.

šeg$_9$ 28.

šeg$_9$-bar 28; 128^{47}.

šìr 135^{71}.

šu—bal 135^{68}.

šu-tag—du$_{11}$ 114^{12}f.

te 148^{98}.

temen 124^{36}.

téš(-bi) 69^{6}; 71^{40}; 76^{126}; 111^{6}.

ti-lim-dá 157^{113}.

túg-men-eden-na 7.

ú-làl 141.

ú-šim 69^{3}.

ù- (verbal performative) 69^{2}.

u$_{4}$-ri-a 110^{1}.

u$_{5}$ 145^{88}.

u$_{6}$-e 142^{81}f.

u$_{x}$-lu-šúr 144^{85}.

ùb (= ÁBxKÁRA) 147^{95}.

udu — šár 146^{93}.

ul — a-ra-zu 11 note 18^{a}.

ul(-la) — túm 112^{8}f.; 121^{25}.

ulušin (= KAŠ. ÁŠ. AN) 149^{100}.

unú 44 note 88.

úr-ra-àm gùn-a 43.

ur$_{5}$ — ša$_{4}$(= ḪAR. DU) 116^{15}f.

urú (= URUxUD) 129^{56}.

ús(-a) — sì(g) 127^{38}.

za-e 15 note 26.

zà(g) 129^{52}; 136^{75}.

zà-du$_{8}$ 128^{43}.

zà-gal 153^{108}f.

$^{\text{giš}}$zà-mí 131$^{62-64}$.

zabar-MIR 155^{111}.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS[1]

Akk.	Akkadian
col(s).	column(s)
dupl(s).	duplicate(s)
lit.	literally
MA	Middle-Assyrian
MS.	manuscript
OB	Old-Babylonian
obv.	obverse
Pl(s).	plate(s)
rev.	reverse
Sum.	Sumerian
unpub.	unpublished

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1) For further abbreviations see note 105 below, where the museum initials which will appear before the museum number are listed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Acta Or. : *Acta Orientalia*. Leiden, 1923

AfO : *Archiv für Orientforschung.* Graz, Austria, 1923-.

AHw : von Soden, W., *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.* Wiesbaden, 1965-.

AJA : *American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton

AJSL : *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*. Chicago, 1884-1941.

AS : *Assyriological Studies*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago, 1931-.

____ XII : Kramer, S. N., *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur.* Chicago, 1940.

____ XI : Jacobsen, Th., *The Sumerian King List.* Chicago, 1939.

BASOR : *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. Baltimore, 1919-.

____Supl.Stud. : "Supplementary Studies." New Haven, 1945-1952.

BE : *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A*: *Cuneiform Texts*. Philadelphia, 1893-1911; München, 1913-1914.

BIN : *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*. New Haven, 1918-. Vol. II: Nies, James B., and Clarence E. Keiser, *Historical Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities*. New Haven, 1920.

BiOr: : *Bibliotheca Orientalis.* Leiden, 1943-.

BL : Langdon, S., Babylonian Liturgies. Paris, 1913.

BSOAS : Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London.

BWL : Lambert, W. G., Babylonian Wisdom Literature. Oxford, 1959.

CAD : The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 1964-.

CE : Oppenheim, A. L., Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection in the New York Public Library (=AOS 32).

Civil, M., : Dialogue between Two Scribes. MS.

Civil, M., : Dialogue between Two Women, MS.

Civil, M., : The Disputation between the Hoe and the Plow. MS. (courtesy of Dr. Sjöberg).

Civil, M., : "The Home of the Fish," Iraq XIII (pp. 154-175).

CT : Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum. London, 1896-.

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diri : lexical series diri DIR siāku = (w)atru.

Dreams Book : Oppenheim, A.L., The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East (=Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 46/3). Philadelphia, 1956.

ELA : Kramer, S. N., *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta: A Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran.* University Museum: Museum Monographs. Philadelphia, 1952.

Emeš-Enten : *The Disputations between Emeš and Enten*, or "Between Summer and Winter" MS. (Dr. Kramer's files)

Erimḫuš : lexical series.

EWO : Bernhardt, I. and Kramer, S. N., *Enki und die Weltordnung*. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena* Heft 1/2, 1959/60.

Father-Son : Sjöberg, A. W., *The Father and His Son*, MS. (courtesy of Dr. Sjöberg)

Götterepitheta : Tallqvist, K. L., *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, 1938.

Group Vocabulary : lexical series.

GSGL I-II : Falkenstein, A., *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas* von Lagaš (I: *Schrift und Formenlehre*; II: *Syntax*). *AnOr* XXVIII-XXIX. Roma, 1949-1950.

Gud. Cyl. : Thureau-Dangin, *Les Cylinders de Goudéa*, *TCL* VIII. Paris, 1925.

HAV : Radau, Hugo,"Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur" in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume: Studies in Assyriology and Archaeology*, Leipzig, 1909.

Ḫḫ : lexical series ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu*.

Iraq : *Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq*. London, 1934-.

Jacobsen, Th., : "The Waters of Ur," *Iraq* XXII 1960, (pp. 174-185).

JAOS : *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. New Haven.

____ *Supp*. 10 : Hartman, Louis F., and A. Leo Oppenheim, *On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Baltimore, 1950.

JCS : *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*. New Haven, 1947-.

JNES : *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago, 1942-.

Keši Hymn : Gregg, G., published as an appendix to *TH*.

Kramer, S.N., : "Enki and Ninhursaga," *BASOR* Supplementary Studies No. 1.

KAR : Ebeling, Erich, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiosen Inhalts*. *WVDOG*, Band 28, Heft 1-4, and Band 34, Haft 1-5. Leipzig, 1915-1923

LB : see under *TLB*.

Le travail : Limet, H., *Le travail du métal au pays de Sumer au temps de la III*^{e} dynastie d'Ur. Paris, 1960.

LKA : Ebeling, E., *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*. Berlin, 1953.

Lugale : *epic Lugale u melambi nergal* MS. (courtesy of Prof. Å. W. Sjöberg.

MAD : Gelb, I. J., *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*. vols. I-III, Chicago, 1952-1957.

MBI : Barton, George Aaron, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*. New Haven, 1918.

malku = *šarru* : synonym list.

MNS : Sjöberg, Å. W., *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung*. vol. I. Stockholm, 1960.

MSA : Edzard, D. O., *Mesopotamien: Die Mythologie der Sumerer und Akkader*. (*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*).

MSL : Landsberger, B., et al., *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon*. Roma, 1937-.

Musik : Hartman, H., *Die Musik der Sumerischen Kultur*. Frankfort, 1960.

MVAG : *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin (later *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin). Berlin, (later Leipzig, 1896-1944.

Nabnītu : lexical series.

Ninrag : Hrozný, F., *Mythen von dem Gott Ninrag (Ninib)* *MVAG* 5, Berlin, 1903.

Nungal Hymn : Sjöberg, Å. W., *Nungal Hymn*, MS. (courtesy of Dr. Sjöberg).

OBGT : *Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts*, published in *MSL* IV pp. 47-128.

OB *lu* : *Old Babylonian version of Lu* (lexical text)

OECT : *Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts*. Oxford, 1923-1938.

—— I : Langdon, Stephen, *The H. Weld-Blundell Collection in the Ashmolean Museum I: Sumerian and Semitic* Religious and Historical Texts. Oxford, 1923.

Or. NS : *Orientalia: Commentarii periodici Instituti Biblici* Nova Series. Roma, 1932-.

PAPS : *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. Philadelphia.

Proto-diri : See *diri*.

Proto -Izi : lexical series izi = *išātu* (courtesy of Dr. Sjöberg).

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V R : *ditto*, vol. V.

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SK : Zimmern, Heinrich, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1912-1913.
See also *VAS*.

SKI : Römer, W. H. Ph., *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit*. Leiden, 1965.

SLT : Chiera, Edward, *Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur*. Oriental Institute Publications XI, Cuneiform Series I. Chicago, 1929.

SLTNi : Kramer, S.N., *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul*. *AASOR* XXIII, New Haven, 1944.

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Šamaš : Schollmeyer, A. /Franz, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*. *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*.

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Tierbilder : Heimpel, W., Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. Roma, 1968.

TLB : Tabulae cuneiformae a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectae.

TMHS NF : Bernhardt, I., & Kramer, S.N., Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer im eigentum der Friedrich Schiller-Universität Jena, Neue Folge III Berlin, 1961 IV, Berlin, 1967.

Türen : Salonen, A., Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien. Helsinki, 1961.

UET : Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur Excavations: Texts. London & Philadelphia, 1928-.

UMBS : University of Pennsylvania, University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section. Philadelphia, 1911-1930.

VAS : Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Leipzig, 1907-1917.

VAT : Inventarbezeichnung der Tontafeln der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin

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ZANF : *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*...Neue Folge, Berlin, 1923-.

Part I.

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTORY COMMENT:

Journeys of the gods are a persistent motif in Sumerian mythology. Although some scholars have published summaries of some of the journeys, no full study of journey myths has yet been made. Nor have these myths been classified, despite the fact that they are of special import to the cultural growth of Mesopotamian civilization.

Sumerian civilization had spread over all southern Mesopotamia from early times. This fact has been known for sometime through the archaeological evidence. The literary evidence played no less a role than its archaeological counterpart, but it has received less attention. In order to get a relatively precise picture of Sumerian history, a scientific and analytic study of the surviving literature is necessary. Therefore, a complete study of the whole corpus of Sumerian journey myths will, undoubtedly, be of significant help in understanding Sumerian civilization.

This dissertation, which has incorporated in its introduction a detailed survey of these journeys, does not claim to be the ultimate work on these myths since many of them need new scientific editing. However, we have been able to classify these journeys, and present their contents from a new approach. Former misinterpretations have been corrected, and the newly discovered texts belonging to each journey have been added. Finally, the cultural significance of these journey myths in terms of the spread of Sumerian civilization is pointed out.

This study consists of three parts. The first part, "Introduction," contains three sections: "Introductory Comment," "The Journeys of Gods to their Fathers," and "Conclusions." The second section of this part, in particular, is devoted to a detailed survey of Sumerian literature containing journey myths. Each of these myths is classified as to type. The sources (published and unpublished) of each, and a general survey of the contents of each are also given there. Conclusions are incorporated in the third part of this section.

In this study, an extensive treatment of the composition entitled "Enki's Journey to Nippur," is given. Although this text has been previously summarized and tentatively translated, no grammatical and philological treatment of it has been made. Because of this, it has not been fully understood until now.

Since the last translation of this myth, 1) a large number of unpublished texts have been identified. In addition, many texts have been published in copy only. Through the use of this new material, and by collation of many texts that belong to this composition, it is now possible to understand the nature of this composition, and to make a scientific edition of the entire myth.

In addition to its inherent literary value, this myth is of deep cultural significance. While Sumerology is still in such a

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1) A. Falkenstein, SAHG p. 133 f.

state that we cannot understand all of the cultural allusions contained in this myth, it is obvious that it will be of great importance for the understanding of Sumerian civilization.

The edition of this myth consists of five sections: "Transliteration," "Translation," Textual Notes and Variants," "Addenda," and "Commentary." The fifth section is devoted to a grammatical and philological discussion and the problems involved.

The third part of this dissertation contains 24 plates (no. IX is A-B). These plates contain photographs of some of those unpublished texts which are in the University Museum collections, and were utilized in this study. Note that an index to these plates is given immediately before Pl. I.

2. THE JOURNEYS OF GODS TO THEIR FATHERS

Throughout Sumerian mythical lore there are several compositions dealing with journeys made by specific deities in which they paid visits to their fathers, each in the father's cultic city. The reasons for these trips vary from one to another. A general survey of each journey will be given hereafter. Although no classification of these journeys [1a] has yet been made, two types of trips now can be recognized:

A. Petitioning Journeys: the following compositions can be incorporated under this heading:

a) Inanna's Journey to Eridu.
b) Ninurta's Journey to Eridu.
c) Nanna's Journey to Nippur I.
d) Nanna's Journey to Nippur II.
e) Nanna's Journey to Nippur III.
f) Nininsina's Journey to Nippur.
g) Pabilsag's Journey to Nippur.

B. Reporting Journeys: two trips can be classified as this type. These are as follows:

a) Ningirsu's Journey to Eridu
b) Enki's Journey to Nippur.

The following discussion will be devoted to a general survey of each journey in accordance with the classification just mentioned.

[1a] It is to be noted, that Å. Sjöberg in a recent article [1969] (see RLA III s.v. Götterreisen p. 480^{b} -483^{b}) gives a condensed survey of the journeys under consideration.

A. a). Inanna's Journey to Eridu.[1b)]

Texts: CBS 13571+, copied by David W. Myhrman and published in UMBS I/1 no. 1. A new unpublished fragment (N 3276) has been identified and joined by S. N. Kramer. The latter has also identified two other texts (SLTNi 31 and 32) and published copies in his SM Pl. XVI, where he placed them side by side with CBS 13571+. Another new fragment (Ni 4153 Istanbul) has been identified by Å. Sjöberg as **belonging** to this text. In addition, N 6278 is another join to CBS 13571+. Arno Poebel, in 1914, copied a large fairly well preserved six-column tablet (CBS 15283) which is damaged at its upper left hand corner. This text is published in UMBS V no. 25. A general summary of this composition with a historical background of the related published material has been given by S. N. Kramer in SM p. 64ff.

[1b)] Å. Sjöberg in RLA III p. 483^{a} no. 7 c) pointed out that CT XLII no. 13 1ff. (Kramer, PAPS vol. 107 no. 6 p. 503f) contains varied trips made by Inanna to various shrines and gods.

In this text, Inanna speaks of visits she had paid to places such as: Abzu, Eridu, E-engurra, E-anna and the marshland. Among the names of the deities she had visited are Enki, Enlil, Damgalanna, and Asarluḫi.

By and large, this brief mention of Inanna's visits might be considered as a reference to her occasional visits to these places and deities. It should be noted that in line 16ff. of this composition, Inanna on her return appears to bring back (seemingly to her cult city Uruk) some gifts such as a dog, a lion$^{?}$, boxwood and ḫalub-wood, which might indicate that these trips were not courtesy visits but rather petitioning.

titled:"Inanna and Enki: The transfer of the Arts of Civilization from Eridu to Erech." 1c) This composition, is going to be re-edited in conjunction with a Ph. D. dissertation by Miss Gertrud Flügge (Munich).

Inanna, the tutelary deity of Uruk, in order to preserve the prosperity of her own city and to glorify her own name and fame, made up her mind to pay a visit to Enki, her father, in his city Eridu. Enki is known in Sumerian literature as the god of wisdom who is entrusted with the me's,"the divine functions." He also is in charge of the nam's,"the crafts," which are considered essential and fundamental for life on earth. It is this fact which encouraged and motivated Inanna to make her journey to Eridu in order to procure the crafts essential to the prosperity of her city and to exalt her cult center Uruk.1d)

At the beginning of this poem, there are a number of unintelligible lines which we might consider an introductory passage. In part of it Inanna praises herself (ní-te-ni mí-zi iri$_4$-ga-àm-me).2) As

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1c) In addition to Kramer's summary, H.W.F. Saggs gives a very condensed resumé of some parts of this journey in his The Greatness that was Babylon, p. 36.
It is to be noted, that throughout our survey we have benefited much from Kramer's summary.

1d) According to Saggs (previously cited, p. 36), this myth reflects the alleged change of the main seat of civilization in southern Mesopotamia from Eridu, the most ancient Sumerian city (which ruled, according to the "Sumerian King List" AS 11, p. 71ff., a long time before the Flood), to Uruk (which, according to the King List, ibid, ruled after the Flood).

2) UMBS I/1 no. 1 col. I 6-7

in "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld," she wears her túg-men-eden-na "the crown of the plain."[3]

In the lines that follow, the poet tells us of the decision made by Inanna to go to Eridu. The following are some excerpts:

> "At that day, the maid Inanna,
> To Abzu-Eridu, to Enki,
> Holy Inanna, all alone, directed her steps."[4]

Thus, the decision was made, and the journeying deity, Inanna, started her trip to Enki "who is full of wisdom; who knows the *me*'s (i.e. "*the divine functions*"); who, verily, from his dwelling place knows the heart of the gods."[5] Upon hearing of the arrival of Inanna at Eridu, Enki called upon his *sukkal*, Isimu (perhaps his messenger or his vizier) and instructed him thus:

> "To his *sukkal*, to Isimu he (Enki) speaks, (thus) he instructs:
> Come my *sukkal*, to my word pay heed,"[6]
> "Come my *sukkal*, to my word pay attention,
> ....
> The maid will enter Abzu-Eridu.
> Inanna will enter Abzu-Eridu.

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3) *Ibid.*, line 2. Also cf. S. N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld," *JCS* V (continued and revised edition) p. 6 line 127, where Inanna is described as having removed her from túg-šu-gur-ra men-eden-na "*šugur*, the crown of the plain." (It must be noted that the restoration of [túg-m]en-eden-na in "Inanna's Journey" is due to the keen observation of A. Sjöberg).

4) See *SLTNi* 32 (=Ni 2724) obv. 6-8 (= *UMBS* I/1 no. 1 col. II).

5) *Ibid.*, rev. 1'-2'.

6) See *ibid.*, rev. 5'-6'.

After the maid enters Abzu-Eridu,
After Inanna enters Abzu-Eridu,
Barley cakes with butter may you feed her,
Cold water that refreshes the heart, pour out to her,
In front of the lion 7) may you give her beer to drink,
. . . .
At the holy table, the table of heaven.
To holy Inanna may you say a welcome greeting,
Thus you shall say to her." 8)

So "Isimu paid attention to the word of (Enki) his lord," 9) and did exactly what the latter instructed him. 10) Then a banquet seems to have been prepared to honor the holy guest, and Enki, together with Inanna and seemingly other deities dined:

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7) The lion mentioned here and also in our main text: "Enki's Journey to Nippur" (which will be cited later with EJN), line 33 which reads: "Your (the temple's) threshold is a lion coming down on a man," as well as in UET VI/2 142 (this text belongs to the composition known as "The Lamentation over the Destruction of Eridu". See Å. Sjöberg, OrNS XXXVII Fasicle 2, p.234), obv. 8: ká-gu-la ká-igi-pirig-gá "The great gate, the gate which is (standing) in front of the lion." It is actually an important endorsement of the archaeological discovery of Eridu's lion which was discovered in 1947 by an Iraqi expedition. For further discussion see below.

8) UMBS I/1 no. 1 col. II 1-13.

9) Ibid. line 14

10) Lines 15-24 in the text just cited are a repetition of the instructions just mentioned, but in the preterit form, which show that Isimu did actually what Enki wanted him to do.

"In the (shrine) Abzu, they (the assembled gods) drank beer (as well as) the fine beer which they (the divine waiters) have sweetened.

The Zabar-MIR-vessels, they (the divine waiters) made enormously large.

(Meanwhile) they (the assembled gods) incited Uraš to hold a contest over the bronze objects."11)

So, after heavy drinking, Enki promised Inanna he would give her all the nam's (the fundamental crafts for civilization) that he possessed and this is what he said:

"(I swear by) the name of my power, (and by) the name of my
Abzu,
To holy Inanna, my daughter, I will give . . . . ."12)

Then the text enumerates what Inanna has taken from Enki: "heroism, strength, enmity, the craft of justice, the destruction of cities, lamentation, trouble of the heart, rejoicing of the heart, falsehood, trespass on the foreign lands, goodness, justice, the firm dwelling places, the craft of the carpenter, the art of metal working, the scribal art, the craft of the smith and the leather worker, the craft

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11) By virtue of EJN lines 110-112, the restoration after collation of these lines become possible. The occurrence of this cliché in both compositions, might indicate a current tradition and a characteristic feature of a divine banquet. In other words, making enormous preparations for the banquet, food and drinks and holding a contest over drinking objects speak of a probable mythological tradition.

12) UMBS I/1 No. 1 col. III 1-2. This refrain is repeated throughout the composition every time Enki decides to present a gift to Inanna.

of the *Šutug*-priest, the craft of the mason and the basket-weaver, wisdom, understanding, purification,..., heaping up of coal,[13] fear, expectancy, silence, fire kindling and fire extinguishing, weariness,"[14] "the shout of victory, counsel, the troubled heart, judgment and decision, exubrance and musical instruments."[15] In addition, and among the one hundred gifts which Enki has presented to Inanna are "those referring to lordship, godship, the exalted and enduring crown, the throne of kingship, the exalted scepter, the exalted shrine, shepherdship, numerous priestly offices, truth, descent into the nether world and ascent from it, the 'standard', the flood, sexual intercourse, and prostitution, the *legal* tongue and the *libellous* tongue, art, the holy cult chambers, the 'hierodule of heaven,' music, eldership."[15]

Subsequently, Enki wakes up with a heavy hangover. At that time he finds that his *divine functions* are not in their usual places. Then he realizes that Inanna, the one who took advantage of his situation, is the one who robbed him and the one who took the *nam*'s away from him. At this point Enki calls upon his *sukkal* Isimu and tells him that Inanna has taken all the *divine functions* and has ladened them on her boat *Má-an-na* "the boat of heaven." She had already left the quay of Eridu. "Holy Inanna has collected all the *divine functions*

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13) For NE.Ḫ̌AR.DUB, to be read as ne-mur-dub meaning "to heap up coal," see Å. Sjöberg's review of Hallo and van Dijk's *The Exaltation of Inanna* (Yale Near Eastern Researches no. 3, 1968), commenting to line 136. (This review will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *JAOS*).

14) See *UMBS*, previously cited, col. III line 2 and rev. IV 1 ff.

15) See Kramer, *SM* p. 66.

(the *me*'s), (and) has brought them aboard the *Má-an-na*; she has (already) left the quay."16)

When the story goes on, Enki's hangover is described:

"For him, who has drunk (too much) beer, for him, who
has drunk (too much) beer, the beer (which he drank)
came up from him (i.e. he vomited),
For father Enki, who has drunk (too much) beer, who has
drunk (too much) beer, the beer (which he drank)
came up from him (i.e. he vomited)"17)

After losing his *divine functions*, the situation for Enki was unbearable. He, then, turned to Isimu his *sukkal* and spoke to him:

"Isimu, my *sukkal*, 'my good name of heaven!'"
"My king Enki! (here) I stand! Please, I beg you,"
"The lordship, the princeship, the godship, the great
and true crown, the throne of kingship, where
are they?"
"My king has given them to his daughter."
"The great scepter, the *šibir*-staff and the *enkara*-weapon,
the great garment, the shepherdship, the kingship,
where are they?"

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16) *UMBS* I/1 no. 1 col. V. line 5

17) *Ibid.*, lines 6-7

18^{a}) For u_4-ul a-ra-zu = *anni teslītu* "Please, I beg you," see M. Civil, *JNES* XXVI/3 p. 203 line 28:
gù ba-an-dé-a ul (var. ul-la) a-ra-zu ^{d}nuška á-ba mu-un-da-ág-e=
[*a]n-ni tes-li-tu ^{d}nušku* [ ] *ú-ma-ʾ-ár* "He said:
'Please, I beg you, Nuška! I will give instructions about that.'"

"My king has given them to his daughter."

"The art of the egizi-priestesses, the art of the
nin-dingir-priestesses, the art of the
purification priest, the art of the gudá-
priest, where are they?"

"My king has given them to his daughter."[18b]

From the above quoted passage we notice that Enki questions Isimu about the whereabouts of his lost divine functions. After every question Isimu replies, "My king has given them to his daughter."

No doubt Enki must have been very upset by the trick played on him by Inanna. Therefore, after Isimu told him that Inanna's boat had arrived at the quay of the city.....[19], Enki then said to Isimu "go and let the enkum's[20] seize it (the boat) from her." So Isimu hurried to Inanna in order to fulfill the instructions of his lord Enki and spoke to her:

"My queen! Your father has sent me to you,
Inanna! Your father has sent me to you.

[18b] CBS 13571 col. V line 12 ff.

[19] UMBS V No. 25 col. 1; SLTNi 31 (join) obv. 5-6. Unfortunately the name of this city is unpreserved. Against S. N. Kramer (SM p. 67). i-da-al mentioned at the beginning of line 6 (text just cited), means "now" and therefore it is to be equated with Akk. inanna (usually written in Sum. i-dal (=RI), whereas in our text it is written syllabically for inanna, see CAD I/J 142^aff s.v.).

[20] The enkum (Akk enkummu) mentioned here must undoubtedly have a different meaning from that given in CAD E 168^b (s.v. enkummu "treasurer(of the temple),") as well as from the tentative meaning given by Kramer (SM p. 67) as "sea monster(s)." For further discussion on this word see A. Flakenstein, ZANF XXII p. 64 commentary to line 103.

Your father, exalted in his speech,
Enki, exalted in his speech (lit. his added speech),
His great words cannot be 'scattered,'
(Then) holy Inanna replied to him:
My father what has he spoken to you, what more has
 he added to you,
His great words which cannot be 'scattered', what are
 they?
(Thus) my king has spoken to me,
(And this is what) Enki had told me:
'Let Inanna go to Uruk, (but) you (must) bring the
 Má-an-na back to Eridu',
Holy Inanna speaks to the *sukkal* Isimu:
'My father, why has he changed his word to me?
Why has he broken his trustworthy word to me?"[21)]

And so this dialogue goes on between Inanna and Isimu and Inanna gets angrier and critizes her father severely by accusing him of telling her a "falsehood."[22)]

Just after Inanna finished her statements the *enkum*'s rushed to seize her boat the *Má-an-na*. Meanwhile Inanna asked her *sukkal* Ninšubur, whom Inanna calls "my trustworthy *sukkal* of the *Eanna*,"[23)] to come to her aid and prevent the seizure of her boat. Ninšubur does what she is asked to but Enki insists on carrying out his decision.

[21)] *Ibid.*, obv. 8 ff.

[22)] *Ibid.*, obv. line 24.

[23)] *Ibid.*, obv. line 30

He consequently sends different kinds of sea monsters to the seven stopping points between Eridu and Uruk in order to seize the boat.24)

Nevertheless, and in spite of all these difficulties, nothing seemed to have barred Inanna from continuing her journey back to her beloved city. Finally, Inanna arrived safely at Uruk and with jubilant and rejoicing festivities she was received by the Urukites. She unloaded her *Má-an-na* with all the *me*'s (the *divine functions*) safe and intact. In the end, however, it appears (despite the fact that the text is badly broken) that Enki and Inanna are reconciled with one another.

To sum up, it seems that the major purpose of this mythological journey of Inanna was to obtain the *divine functions* from her father, Enki, in order to glorify her city Uruk and to make it prosperous. Thus this myth clearly falls in the category of "petitioning Journeys."

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24) For further discussion see Kramer, *SM* p. 68.

A. b) Ninurta's Journey to Eridu

Text: CBS 13938, a four-column tablet mostly preserved, copied by Edward Chiera and published in STVC no. 34. A. Falkenstein, in SGLI pp. 80ff., published his treatment of this text entitled: "Lied auf Ninurta." A new edition, after collation, will be included by D. Reisman as part of his Ph.D. dissertation.

Ninurta, who was worshipped with Enlil in Nippur,25) was originally the son of Enki, but during the Ur III period he became the son of Enlil.26) Throughout this myth he is considered the son of Enlil, as we would expect since this work was composed in the OB period. The fact that he makes his journey to Enki probably reflects an earlier tradition since the journeys of the gods are invariably to their fathers.

Ninurta, according to Sumerian theology was considered the god

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25) D.O. Edzard, MSA p. 114.

26) The available data seem to support this thesis.
(a) From an OB text comprising a hymn to Ninurta (see SLTNi 61)
we can quote the following relevant lines (obv. II 46 ff.):
ur-sag ^{d}nin-urta ní-zu kur-ra ša-mu-ri
ur-sag ^{d}pa-bíl-sag ní-zu kur-ra ša-mu-ri
ur-sag ^{d}nin-gír-su ní-zu kur-ra ša-mu-ri
"Hero Ninurta! Your terror, verily, overwhelms the (foreign
lands
Hero Pabilsag! Your terror, verily, overwhelms the
(foreign) lands
Hero Ningirsu! Your terror, verily, overwhelms the
(foreign) lands."
Later in Col. III 1 f., we read the following:
a-a-^{d}en-líl-da
za-e ša-mu-un-da-tuš

"With father Enlil,
You sat down together."

(b). In *VAS* II no. 3 (*VAT* 604+) obv. II 17 ff (broken context) we read the following:

^{d}nin-urta ...
^{d}pa-bíl-sag ...
^{d}nin-gír-su ...

From these two texts the following can be deduced:

1. The three deities, sequentially mentioned in (a) and (b) must be identical. In other words, Ninurta, Pabilsag and Ningirsu are names referring to one deity.
2. The reason for this conclusion lies in the texts themselves. In (a), the phrase "with father Enlil *you (sg.) sat down* together," is undoubtedly, according to the grammatical structure, an address to *one* deity and not to many.
3. The various names of this deity might be considered as regional names given to him by the inhabitants of each territory of his cult. That is to say, he is called Ninurta by the people of Nippur, Pabilsag by the people of Isin and Ningirsu by the Lagashites.

(c). In support of the thesis under consideration, the following evidence is to be added: A. Falkenstein, *AnOr* XXX p. 90-91, states that Uru-KA-gina (whose reign ante-dates the Ur III period) calls Baba, the wife of Ningirsu, "the daughter-in-law of Eridu," (é-gi$_{4}$-a-eridu^{ki}-ga). This, therefore suggests that Ningirsu must be the son of Enki (and Ninḫursaga). Accordingly, since Ningirsu, in view of the previous discussion, is identical with Ninurta, the latter, by the same token, must be the son of Enki as well.

of the south wind[27], and as in our text, he was the warrior among the gods.[28] In addition he was a god of fertility and vegetation[29] and therefore he was called "the trustworthy farmer of Enlil."[30]

The beginning of this composition, which is not well preserved,[31] runs as follows:

> "The warrior, the strong one among the Anunna-gods, is
> coming out of the Ekur,[32]
> Ninurta, the strong one among the Anunna-gods, is coming
> out of the Ekur
> .... by .... gently called,
> The warrior Ninurta, the son of Enlil,
> ....,
> ....he was ordering...,
> Ninurta, from the place of Enlil, went to Eridu,

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27) See Kramer, the Sumerians p. 145.

28) For further discussion on Ninurta see D.O. Edzard , MSA p. 114 f. s.v. Ninurta.

29) Ibid., same page.

30) See Kramer, loc. cit., p. 108

31) Although Ni 9695, which also contains a hymn to Ninurta, does not belong to our composition, the restoration of the beginning of our text is mainly based on this text (see Å. Sjöberg, MNS I p. 165 note 17). Å. Sjöberg feels that this restoration is uncertain since it is difficult to explain how two different hymns would start with the same incipit.

32) Ekur is the name of Enlil's temple in Nippur.

The warrior Ninurta went to Eridu."33)

The purpose of Ninurta's journey to Eridu, as it is described in the text 34) is to obtain various gifts from the god Enki; such gifts as: several kinds of fish, green and fresh reeds in the canebrake, numerous animals in the steppe.

After a break the composition tells us that the king (probably Enlil) prepared the road to Eridu for Ninurta.

"The king ....
prepares for Ninurta the road to Eridu,
The journey 'like a festival', he made for him, (and)
he made the steppe green for him."35)

Upon his arrival in Abzu-Eridu, Ninurta rejoices and brings joy into Abzu-Eridu:

"Into Abzu-Eridu Ninurta brings joy.
When the lord enters the Abzu the day is (full of)
abundance, the night is (full of) joy.
When Ninurta enters Eridu the day is (full of)
abundance, the night is (full of) joy."36

Enki then bestows the *me*'s (the divine functions) of 'long life' on Ninurta.37) After this the text tells us of Ninurta's

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33). CBS 13938 (collated) col. I lines 1-7 and 13.

34). For the enumeration of these various gifts for which Ninurta came to Eridu see the text just cited, col. I line 8ff.

35). See the text previously cited col. II lines 5-7

36). *Ibid*., col. II 8-10

37). *Ibid*., col. II line 11.

"coronation":

> "For the kingship, Ninurta, son of Enlil, put on the
> crown, ... ,
> For the lordship, he bound (around his head) the *muš*-
> crown of lapis lazuli, ... he took in his hand,
> He came forth (in splendor), (and) in Abzu-Eridu, he
> lifted up his head heavenwards."38)

Unfortunately, due to the lacuna at the end of column II of the text, our information about the banquet in honor of the divine guest which we might expect is missing. A. Falkenstein thought that about 50 lines at the end of column II were not preserved,39) but a collation shows that probably no more than 15 lines are missing. Only one line is partly preserved which might be considered a description of the beginning of the banquet. In this line An, the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon, together with Enki and Ninurta who are assembled in the great court (of the temple), appear to become inebriated.40)

The reverse of the tablet contains a hymn to Ninurta (consisting of nearly 50 lines from col. III and IV) and it ends with the colophon [šìr]-gíd-da-^{d}nin-urta-kam, the phrase which denotes that the type of

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38). *Ibid.*, col. II 15-17.

39). A. Falkenstein, *SGL* I p. 80.

40). *Ibid.*, col. II line 21.

this hymn is "širgidda." This colophon is seemingly what led Falkenstein to consider the entire composition as a hymn, and therefore he called it, as previously stated, "Lied auf Ninurta."

The final problem is how Ninurta comes back to Nippur. The text actually leaves us ignorant at this point. Nevertheless, a possible description of his return might be sought in the lacuna at the end of col. II. This leads us, therefore, to suggest that the scribe wrote Ninurta's journey fully (including his return to Nippur) on the obverse of the tablet (obv. 2 cols.) whereas on the other side (rev. also 2 cols.) he wrote the hymn to Ninurta. This solution allows us to avoid attributing any forgetfulness to the scribe.

It is assumed here, therefore, that the hymn to Ninurta following his trip to Eridu might well be considered as the blessings of the deities of Nippur who are rejoicing and praising the returning deity on his arrival in Nippur.

To end, Ninurta in his journey to Eridu seems to have achieved what he went for. He was given, for instance, the me's (the divine functions) of 'long life' by Enki . Besides, he was described superbly as having been "coronated" by Enki. No wonder therefore that he was hailed with a lovely hymn of praise, following his noble and successful trip. Thus this composition must be classified as a "petitioning journey."

A. c) Nanna's Journey to Nippur I:

Texts: UM 29-15-420+; UET VI/1 25; Ni 4578; SLTNi 39; TMHNF III 4; Ni 4605; UM29-13-225; UM 29-15-67; N 1360; Ni 1334; N 3081; Ni 4581; N 3286, SEM 97; Ni 4528; Ni 9827; CBS9804+; BL 1; Ni 4364; N 9629; Ni 4370; UM 29-13-7+; Ni 1260; Ni 9462; SRT 24; SEM 94; N 3725; CBS 10390; CT XLII no. 35.

S. N. Kramer, published a summary of this journey in SM pp. 47ff. Å. Sjöberg in his MNS I p. 148ff, treated some parts of this composition. In addition, J. Ferrara (The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore) is now working on an overall edition of this composition as part of his Ph.D. dissertation.41[a])

Nanna, the Sumerian moon god, son of Enlil and Ninlil who is also called Suen and Ašimbabbar, and whose epithet is the "Kleiner Jungstier des Enlil," 41[b]) undertakes a journey to Nippur, the city of Enlil, his father. Nippur, being the holy seat of Enlil, was looked upon by the Sumerians with great respect. Therefore the decision of Nanna to pay a visit to this holy place and in particular to its chief deity Enlil was of special import for Ur. The purpose of the trip was to obtain blessings and favors from Enlil to maintain the well being of Ur, the cult center of Nanna-Suen.

This composition which constitutes approximately

41[a]) Note that all the unpublished texts mentioned above have been copied by Å. Sjöberg and will be published eventually by J. Ferrara.

41[b]) D. O. Edzard, MSA p. 101f. s.v. "Mondgott."

438[42) lines, many of which are repetitious, opens with the following description of the decision made by Nanna to journey to Nippur:

"The 'hero' to the city of his mother,
Nanna-Suen set his mind.
Suen to the city of his mother,
Aš̌imbabbar set his mind.
To the city of his mother and his father,
Nanna-Suen set his mind.
To (the temple) of Enlil and Ninlil,
Aš̌imbabbar set his mind.
I, the hero, to my city I will go,
To my father I will go,
I, Suen, to my city I will go,
To my father I will go,
To my father, to(the house) of Enlil I will go,
To my city I will go,
To my father I will go,
To my mother, to (the house) of Ninlil I will go,
To my father I will go,

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42) It is to be noted that the lineation of this text is tentative. Therefore, this should be taken into consideration when this text is cited by the abbreviation NJN hereafter. As it has been stated before, this composition is now being fully studied and reconstructed by J. Ferrara.

[To] the *holy*[43] city [I will go,]
To the pure place I will go ."[44]

Following this lengthy description of Nanna's decision to make his trip to Nippur, the city of his father, comes a break of a number of lines. After that, there follows a passage praising Nippur where the scribe narrates the glories of this most esteemed city of the Sumerians. The best preserved part of this praise runs as follows:

"Shrine Nippur, whose name is a good name,
My (city) Nippur, on (this) beautiful place its dais
has been built ,
My city, before Dilmun existed, was planted (with)
palm-trees,
Nippur, before Dilmun existed, was planted (with)
palm-trees,
(There) is the great mother, Ninlil, dressed up in
a linen-garment."[45]

After another break Nanna-Suen is described as sending men to various regions to get different materials needed for the construction of his *magur*-boat[46] with which he will journey to Nippur. So his men seem to have done what they were bidden. From Tummal (which is part of Nippur, dedicated to the goddess Ninlil) they brought back reed;[47] from Abzu-Eriduthey brought back asphalt; from Dulašagga they brought back rushes; from the *Hašur*-forest they brought back wood for the poles (of the boat); from the *Kunun*-forest they brought back planks, from Ebla they brought back fir trees. All these materials were brought back to Ur, to Nanna-Suen.

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[43] The preserved part of this line (*NJN* 23) reads: uru-šen-šen-[na?]. The sign šen, when alone, means *ellu* and *ebbu* "pure," "holy," but when it is reduplicated *viz*. šen-šen(-na), then it would correspond to the A[illegible]. *taḫāzu* and *qablu* meaning "battle," "combat," "fight." It is impossible at this time therefore, to explain this reduplication of the sign, in light of the fact that the meaning "pure," "holy," is needed in this passage.

[44] *NJN* lines 1-24.

[45] *Ibid*., lines 29-33

After another break, Nanna seems to be ready to start his journey during the high water (a-ù-a)[48] season. He then loads his *magur*-boat with a rich assortment of animals and plants.[49] The text goes on, after enumerating the cargo of the boat, to tell us that Nanna now is leaving the *Turungal*-Canal.[50] En route to Nippur Nanna stops at four[51] cities. These are: IM^{ki}, Uruk, Larsa and Shuruppak.

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46) *Ibid.*, line 34ff.

47) *Ibid.*, line 78ff.

48) *NJN* line 124ff.

49) *Ibid.*, line 141ff.

50) *Ibid.*, line 171. For the location of this canal see the detailed discussion on the topic by Th. Jacobsen, *Iraq* p. 177f with references.

51) S.N. Kramer (*SM* p. 48) suggests five cities of which he has recognized only the first three. The data presented by texts UM 29-15-420+ col. VI, *SEM* 97 col. II,CBS9804+ col. I, Ni 4370 rev. col. I and Ni 4364 point to only *four* cities, where Nanna stops enroute to Nippur, and not *five*. Note that the reading as well as the location of the city "IM", as yet, is uncertain.

And in each city he is greeted by its respective tutelary god. They all wish him bon voyage (silim-ma hé-me-en lit. "May you be in peace"). Before leaving the cities he prepares beer, "spreads out the bran-mash," and "steps in the bronze vat."[52] He brings gifts for each deity of each city on his itinerary with him. The cargo of his boat is loaded, at the bow of the ship (sag-bi) as well as at its stern (egir-bi).

Nanna-Suen finally arrives at Nippur:

> "At the 'lapis lazuli quay,' the quay of Enlil,
> Nanna-Suen
> moored his boat.
> To the white quay, the quay of Enlil,
> Ašimbabbar
> drew up his boat.
> At the stairs of (the house of) his father
> He stepped up (and said to the gatekeeper:)
> Gatekeeper, open the house! Gatekeeper, open the house!
> ....
> Gatekeeper, open the house! Gatekeeper, open the house!

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52) NJN line 277 f. "Spreading out the bran-mash" is attested in EJN line 101 where Enki, as seemingly Nanna in this passage, spreads out the bran-mash to cool it off in the process of preparing beer. (For further discussion see the commentary below to the reference just cited). Note that the meaning of "(He) steps in the bronze vat " is uncertain. However, if this translation would prove correct, then this process in beer making would be unmatched elsewhere.

Open the house, Kalkal! Open the house!
Gatekeeper, open the house! Gatekeeper, open the house!
Kalkal, open the house!"(53)

Then Nanna starts enumerating to the gatekeeper all the gifts he has brought on board his ship,(54) closing with:

"I, Nanna-Suen,
To the house of Enlil (will enter).
Gatekeeper! Open the house!
Kalkal! Open the house!
That which is at the bow of the boat,
I will give to you.
That which is at the stern of the boat,
I will give to you.
(Then,) joyfully, the gatekeeper,
joyfully,
opened the house.
Kalkal, the gatekeeper, joyfully,
The gatekeeper joyfully,
opened the house."(55)

After this tiresome plea, Nanna-Suen finally seems to have succeeded in entering the house. There he found Enlil who was pleased by the successful trip of Nanna, and thus the text goes on:

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53) NJN line 295 ff.

54) Ibid line 311 ff.

55) NJN line 368 ff.

"At Suen Enlil rejoiced, he said softly to
(the servants):
To my son, who loves to eat barley cakes,
Give (pl.) him barley cakes!
To Nanna, who loves to eat barley cakes,
Give (pl.) him barley cakes!
A portion of bread and my best bread, from the Ekur
Let come out for him!
The good beer, 'my pure strength,' pour out for
him!"56)

After eating and drinking, Nanna-Suen, who seems to be satisfied, said to Enlil:

"My father! Of what you gave me to eat, verily I am
satisfied.
Great mountain, my father! Of what you gave me to drink,
verily I am satisfied.
When you lift your eye, Kingship is there
Enlil! Your abundance ....".57)

At this point Nanna is relaxed and happy since he had been nicely received by Enlil. To take advantage of that moment Nanna brought forth his lengthy petition to Enlil. He addresses Enlil as follows:

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56) NJN line 385 ff.

57) Ibid., line 396 ff.

"Give me your abundance! Give it to me!
To Ur I will go.
In the river, give me the river carp (a-eštub),
To Ur I will go.
In the field, give me the 'late-barley' (še-gu-nu),
To Ur I will go
In the river, give me kuda-fish (ku$_6$-da) and giant
carp (suḫur^{kua}),
To Ur I will go.
In the cane-brake, give me fresh reed (gi-sun)
and green reed (gi-ḫenbur),
To Ur I will go.
In the orchard and the garden, give me syrup
and wine,
To Ur I will go.
On the high plain, give me tamarisks (mašgurum),
To Ur I will go.
In the forests, give me boars and wild boars
(šeg$_9$ šeg$_9$-bar)
To Ur I will go.
In the palace, give me long life,
To Ur I will go."(58)

Enlil then bestowed on Nanna whatever the latter asked for. So, after Nanna has received the above favors the text tells us

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58) NJN line 400 ff.

that he went back to his city Ur. The closing lines of this composition, moreover, run as follows:

> "My lord! Your dais, may you 'bring (it) into being'
> for all days,
> Your holy dais, belonging to the great mother Ninlil,
> Ašimbabbar, may you 'bring (it) into being' for all
> days."59)

Finally, it is quite obvious that this trip must be classified as a "petitioning journey."

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59) *NJN* line 436 ff.

A. d). Nanna's Journey to Nippur II:

Texts: A: *TMHS NF* IV no. 11; B: *TCL* XVI no. 86, and C: *BE* XXXI no. 24. S.N. Kramer published his collation of text C in *JAOS* LX p. 243. In addition, Th. Jacobsen (*Before Philosophy*, p. 209) quoted and discussed a few lines of this composition. Å. Sjöberg in his survey "Götterreisen," previously mentioned, made a reference to this text [see *RLA* III p. 483^{a} no. 7b] .

This composition contains a hymn to Šulgi[60] as well as the journey under discussion. At the beginning (approximately 70 lines, fairly well preserved) the text tells us about the abundance of the city of Ur and recalls the journey of Nanna, its tutelary deity, which we discussed previously. In this opening section, the scribe recounts the abundant gifts which Nanna had loaded on his ship and brought to Enlil in his first visit to Nippur.

This time, in his journey to Nippur[61], Nanna is interceding with Enlil for his steward Šulgi. The purpose of his plea is to get the permission of Enlil for Šulgi to destroy the foreign lands. The following passage describes Nanna's visit to the shrine Nippur where he was received in audience by Enlil and the Anunna-deities:

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[60] Šulgi is the second and the strongest ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur (B.C. 2093-2046) under whose leadership a Neo-Sumerian empire was established.

[61] It should be noted that the description of this journey lies in text A: line 71 ff; text B: obv. 6 ff and text C: col. I 1 ff. The passages which will be translated hereafter are sequentially located in the above specified places.

"To the shrine Nippur he (Nanna) goes,
Into the brickwork of the Ekur he enters,
The Anunna-gods speak gently to him,
'Lord Ašimbabbar,' who fills the pure heaven with
light,
The first-born son of Enlil (who possesses) all
the great me's (the divine functions); the 'joy'
of the Ekur."

So, after this introductory description of Nanna's arrival at the court of Enlil the text goes on to tell us about how Nanna presented his plea to Enlil:

"Father Enlil, lord, (whose) command cannot be
turned back,
Father of the gods (who) establishes the holy
me's:
'The king, the shepherd Šulgi, the trustworthy
shepherd, full of 'joy',
He (Šulgi) has ...., he has [.....] to
destroy the foreign land(s)'."

Enlil accepted Ašimbabbar's (Nanna's) plea and he agreed to grant Šulgi, the good shepherd, permission to destroy the foreign lands. Not only that, he also bestowed his blessings on Šulgi and his city (Ur). This is what Enlil said to Nanna:

"Ašimbabbar ! The man (Šulgi) whom you have chosen
in your heart,
At his .... may in heaven and earth .....,
....
May Šulgi, the trustworthy shepherd, destroy the
rebellious lands,
Let courtesy (lit. the sweet word) and righteousness
be in his city."

Nanna now appears to be contented with his successful visit to Enlil in which he obtained what he came for.

Soon afterward, Nanna went back to his city and entered the brickwork of Ur. There he addressed Šulgi in these words:

"To him whom he (Nanna) had chosen in his heart,
he says:
'Enlil, the strong one in the Land (Sumer), has made
it perfect for you, in (his) heart he has chosen you,
Son of Ninsun, [the king], the shepherd Šulgi! Your
scepter you shall stretch out ....'."

Unfortunately the rest of this composition is broken. Therefore, to sum up, Nanna's present journey provides us with a different type of solicitation. That is, he went to Nippur to plead to Enlil, not for himself, but on behalf of his steward Šulgi. Even so, this journey clearly falls with the trips grouped as "petitioning journeys."

A. e). Nanna's Journey to Nippur III:

Texts: CT XLII no. 45; UET VI/1 no. 98 (this text has been identified by S. N. Kramer, UET ibid, p. 10, where he gave a brief summary of the journey). Å. Sjöberg (RLA III p. 483^{a} no. 7a) pointed out that the texts just cited constitute the journey under discussion.

As on the previous trip, Nanna intercedes with Enlil for another king. This time he pleads for Sinidinnam, king of Larsa.[62] In the introductory passage Sinidinnam appears to go to Nanna-Suen to ask him to intercede with Enlil so that he might obtain some favors for himself. Nanna-Suen then, is described as having agreed to grant Sinidinnam's petition. Therefore Nanna prepared the offerings and took them to Enlil:

"Suen put in order the offering gifts and to
  Nippur he went,
To the Ekur, the house of Enlil, he entered,
Enlil, with the offering gifts [..........],
  he ....,
His mother, the lady Ninlil [.......], to him
  she speaks gently."[63]

Nanna-Suen, after giving Enlil and Ninlil the offerings that he brought, then addressed those deities, conveying to them the plea of Sinidinnam. Enlil appeared to accept Nanna's petition. At this point the text tells us that:

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[62] Sinidinnam (B.C. 1849-1843) is the ninth ruler of the "Larsa Dynasty."

[63] UET VI/1 98 obv. 3-6.

> "The fate of 'long life' for Sinidinnam has
> been perfected for him."[64]

Moreover Enlil bestowed on Sinidinnam many favors besides long life,[65] such as the best grain (še-sag) in the field. In addition "he fills (Sinidinnam's) year (with) goodness (and) life, (and his) month with peace."[66] Furthermore, Enlil, as a token of approval, appears to instruct Nanna with these words: "In his (Sinidinnam's) palace, a good mood (and) a happy heart, 'perfect for him!'"[66]

Nanna now came back from his trip to Nippur. Upon his return to Nippur he addressed Sinidinnam notifying him of Enlil's approval of the petition to grant him the 'long life' that he asked for:

> "Sinidinnam! With good words, he (Enlil)
> has given to you the 'life' which was
> bestowed, may it be yours!
> On your royal throne, may you lift up (your)
> head, may .... be forever."[67]

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[64] *Ibid.*, obv. 8.

[65] *Ibid.*, obv. 10 ff. (rev.).

[66] *Ibid.*, rev. 15 f.

[67] *UET* VI/1 98 rev. 17 ff.

In view of the above discussion there is no doubt that Nanna journeyed to Enlil on behalf of Sinidinnam in order to obtain from Enlil some favors which were essential for Sinidinnam and his city Larsa. Enlil as we have seen, heeded Nanna's plea. Accordingly, this trip falls in the category of "petitioning journeys."

A. f). Nininsina's Journey to Nippur:[68)]

Text: KAR 15 + 16 (VAT 9308 + 9304). A transliteration and translation of this text have been published by E. Ebeling in H. Gressman's Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament p. 254-256. Ebeling also published a translation in his "Quellen zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion" I p. 52ff. (: MVAG XXIII/1).

Moreover, A. Falkenstein published a new translation of the same text in SAHG p. 68-70.

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68) van Dijk, JCS XIX/1 p. 21, as well as Å. Sjöberg, RLA III p. 483^{a} no. 7 d). point out that TCL XVI no. 72 line 41 f. + contains a reference to a visit paid by Nininsina to Enlil. In this visit, Nininsina is described as having visited Enlil and taken some gifts with her for him. The text runs as follows:

> "With black kids (as) first offerings.......,
> Holy Nininsina enters to Enlil."

It is uncertain whether this refers to Nininsina's journey under discussion, it refers to another trip she had made to Enlil.

The text under consideration, which dates back to the MA period and most probably was copied from an OB original, is a bilingual composition. The interlineal Akkadian version is not always an exact translation of its Sumerian counterpart.

At the beginning the text describes the magnificent procession of Nininsina in the city of Isin when she decided to visit Nippur in order to pay homage to Enlil, the tutelary deity of Nippur. Most probably she planned to ask him for some favors.

Nininsina, as in this text, is considered in Sumerian theology to be the daughter of An (the chief deity in the Sumerian pantheon) and Uraš. Her husband is Pabilsag,69) the tutelary deity of the city of Isin. The following is the introductory passage where Nininsina is praised and her procession is depicted:

"The great daughter of An and Uraš, I will praise,
Nininsina, the daughter of An, I will praise,
From her house, joyfully, she went out, splendidly,
  [from] the Enun70) [she went out],
Her land greeted her as it greets the Sun-god
  when he comes forth,
As she goes over the market place of her city,
  (the inhabitants of) her city go with her (in
  procession),

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69) For further discussion on Pabilsag see above note (26) and below.

70) é-nun Akk. kummu is a holy room or a chamber in the temple.

Her husband, the warrior Pabilsag, joyfully,
goes with her,
(As well as) her beloved daughter, Damu[71], the
good woman, the trustworthy Gunura,
Alad[72], the favorable (spirit) of her Egalmaḫ,
goes after her,
Udug[72], the favorable (spirit) of father Enlil
goes at her right side,
Lama[72], the favorable (spirit) of the lord
Nunamnir, goes at her left side,
Her divine Emblem, like the light of heaven,
goes straight in front of her."[73]

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71) In this text, the Akk. translation of the Sum. version clearly states that Damu is the daughter of Nininsina, and Gunura, as it appears in this text, an epithet for her. Nevertheless, according to the data presented by K. Tallqvist (see Götterepitheta p. 279 s.v. Damu, and p. 318 s.v. Gu-sir$_9$-ra :[Gunura]) and D. O. Edzard, MSA p. 50f., Damu is the son of Nininsina and Gunura is his sister. The confusion seen in our text in this respect is striking evidence of the distorted information that the MA scribe, who composed our text, had available to him.

72) Alad, Udug and Lama, mentioned above, are names of protecting spirits usually known for their good fortune and described as always accompanying the deities.

73) KAR 15 + 16, obv. 1-21.

As the procession is in progress, the text now provides us with more information about the preparations made for her march: Namely, the cultic cleaning of the street and the market which she will pass through going to the quay en route to Nippur and the cultic purification of all of her city as well:

> "Šumaḫ, the trustworthy *sukkal* of *Egalmaḫ*[74],
> goes in front of her,
> He cleans for her the street and the market
> place, he purifies the city for her."[75]

This splendid farewell celebration and this solemn procession fill Nininsina with pride. Therefore, when she goes "to the shrine Nippur she goes with a lifted head."[76]

Nininsina, before leaving for Nippur, seems to have had a cultic washing in the canal of Isin:

> "In the Isin-canal she washed herself, in......
> she......"[77]

Now Nininsina seems to be ready to embark on her trip to Nippur. "On the Euphrates, the pure......., to Nippur she sailed, Nippur rejoiced at her."[78] When she arrived in Nippur, she drew up her boat at the Kar-Geštinna "The quay of wine." Upon hearing of her safe arrival, Enki was pleased. As we might expect of the traveling deity, she brought with her gifts for Enlil, and thus the passage tells us:

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[74] *Egalmaḫ*, is the name of Nininsina's temple in Isin.

[75] *KAR* *loc*. *cit*., obv. 23-25.

[76] *Ibid*., obv. 27.

[77] *Ibid*., obv. line 29.

[78] The above translation is only of the Sum. part. In the Akk. version, on the other hand, the scribe forgot to translate nibru^{ki} mu-un-da-ḫ[úl], which we expect to correspond to the Akk. *nippuru^{ki} iḫdu*.

> "At the Geštinna-quay, she moored (her) boat,
> Enki rejoiced at her,[79]
> Humbly she entered the house of Enlil,
> In Ekur-zagin, the house of Enlil, she made re[ady] the offering gifts,
> In the great court-yard, the court-yard of Enlil she [slaughtered] oxen (and) sheep."[80]

As soon as she had finished presenting her offerings, Enlil became pleased. He came out radiantly from his "eternal dwelling" to welcome her and to bestow on her his blessings. This is how he is described:

> "The king greeted her out of his eternal royal dwelling,
> Enlil [lifted] his beaming forehead towards her,
> Enlil joyfully looked at her (and thus he said to her:)
> Nininsina, daughter of An! I will determine for you a favorable destiny,

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79) Nininsina had now arrived in Nippur but the text introduces Enki, the tutelary deity of Eridu, instead of Enlil. Here perhaps is another indication of confused information.

80) KAR loc. cit., lines obv. 35-41.

May [your throne] be firm, may Sumer [rest
under you in security],
May [your husband, the warrior Pabilsag,]
rejo[ice] at you."81)

Following that, there is a gap of approximately 20 lines. In this lacuna, as we might expect, a banquet prepared by Enlil in honor of Nininsina 82) took place. In addition, as it is seen in the lines preceding the break, Enlil appears to have been pleased with the presence of Nininsina, and as one would expect his blessings clearly demonstrate this fact. Consequently, we expect that Enlil bestowed favors as well as his blessings on his divine guest in the above mentioned lacuna.

Following the break Nininsina seems to be back in Isin where she was received warmly by Pabilsag her husband. Here is the description of her arrival at Isin:

"[Her husband,] the warrior Pabil[sag......],
"The [lor]d (Pabilsag) grasped her hand [.........],
"He embraced her sweetl[y.............]."83)

After this loving reception for Nininsina by her affectionate husband, both dined together in delightful surroundings. The great festivities included musicians who played on her beloved harp and singers who sang the holy songs for her. Everyone seemed to be relaxed, not only Nininsina and Pabilsag, but also

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81) Ibid., obv. lines 43-53.

82) For similar banquets prepared for the traveling deities see the previously discussed journeys, as well as EJN below.

83) Ibid., rev. 1-5.

the other deities who attended the entertainments: An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmaḫ.

These gay festivities are beautifully portrayed in the following passage:

> "They (Nininsina and Pabilsag) entered the
>   *Egalmaḫ*, her beloved abode,
> They sat down on a great and lofty dais (and)
>   they dined,
> Her beloved holy harp, Ninḫinun le[t........],
> (Then, the singers) *perfor[med]* holy songs
>   (and) praise which is full of abundance
>   [for her],
> The holy *ùb*-drum (and) the holy harp they
>   played for her,
> The *gala*-singers stood up for her in prayer,
>   for her, Nininsina,
> They (the singers) soothe (the heart of) An,
>   Enlil, Enki, and Ninmaḫ,
> After the "outstanding lady" (Ninmaḫ) had
>   made pleasant the dwelling place (where
>   they were entertaining) in the *Egalmaḫ*,
> (Then) the lord[84] slaughtered oxen (and)
>   plentiful sheep for her,

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84) The "lord " here must refer to Pabilsag, Nininsina's husband, who, as we might expect, is celebrating his wife's safe return.

Syrup, wine and fine beer he pours out for
her (Nininsina)."[85]

Finally, despite the fact that this myth has a large lacuna an therefore we have no proof, it is very probable that the lacuna contained the description of a banquet. It is also probable that Enlil bestowed many gifts on Nininsina during this banquet. Therefore, this journey has also been classified here as a "petitioning journey."

A. g) Pabilsag's Journey to Nippur:

Text: UMBS XIII no. 44 (CBS 15207), SEM 101 (CBS 13961, see S. N. Kramer, BiOr XI p. 172 note 18). Both texts have recently been joined together.[86]

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85) KAR, loc. cit., rev. 7-25. For similar festivities held to honor the traveling deity upon his return to his cult city see above "Inanna's Journey to Eridu."

86) It is to be noted that TMHS NF IV no. 52, a fragment written in Eme-sal, might very well be part of this composition. In this new text, Nininsina (Pabilsag's wife) appears to be the one who encouraged Pabilsag to make a trip to Enlil. Thus she said to Pabilsag (line 5f.):

"Say to your father ....,
To Mullil, say once more ...."

In addition, although Pabilsag, according to Sumerian theology, is the son of Ninlil (Enlil's wife), this text on the other hand, states that he was born to Nintur (line 2).

This four-column tablet (mostly broken) begins with praise to Pabilsag, his house and his city. It is interesting to note that this composition introduces a new epithet for Pabilsag which is unattested elsewhere: "the wild bull with multicolored legs" (am úr-ra-àm gùn-a)[87] The following is the beginning of this text:

> "The wild bull with multicolored legs, whose house is (full of) joy,
> My king, the wild bull with multicolored legs, [whose] house [is (full of) joy],
> Pabilsag, the wild bull with multicolored legs, whose house [is (full of) joy],
> His house, the house where seals are rolled, is (full of) joy, his house is (full of) j[oy],
> His city, the mig[hty] city is (full of) abundance, his house is (full of) jo[y],
> The warrior, his house, the house where seals are rolled [.................],
> The lord Pabilsag, whose house (and) city, the migh[ty] city [................],
> His birth place, the shrine Nip[pur ....],

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[87] For further comment on this epithet see W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder* p. 102 no.(3.29).

The place where he drank the 'good milk',
the house [....................],
From the place, the pure place ..[........],
Isin, the house ...[........],
....
Like a scorpion, when he rises from the roads,
he is a terrifying scorpion,
Like a wolf, when he rises from the ....,88)
acts ....,
Like a lion, when he rises from the89) ...."90)

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88) The sign here is KASKAL.$^{\text{LAGABxU}}_{\text{LAGABxU}}$, the meaning of which is unknown. However, *UET* VI/2 text no. 358 reads as follows (lines 1-4):

ki-tuš = *šu-ub-tum*
unú
KASKAL.LAGABxU
KASKAL.LAGABxU
eme!-sig

It is difficult, however, to judge (since the scribe did not write the normal "ditto" mark) whether *šubtum* is an equivalant of the Sumerian words listed above or only for ki-tuš. If *šubtum* would turn out to be an eqivalent for all these terms, then our crucial sign would mean "den," "abode," "dwelling." For further discussion on KASKAL.$^{\text{LAGABxU}}_{\text{LAGABxU}}$ and eme-sig see Å. Sjöberg, *TH* no. 10 commentary to line 143 (where our reference is to be added).

89) The difficult expression here is eme!-sig. For that see the preceding note.

90) *UMBS loc. cit.*, obv. I 1-15.

After this lengthy praise, the scribe tells us in the following lines why Pabilsag decided to go to Enlil, his father,[91] in Nippur:

> "At that day, he (Pabilsag wants) to dig in the
> fields,
> The lord, (at that) day he (wants) to dig in the
> fields,
> The lord Pabilsag (wants) to dig in the fields,
> The fields of Isin,
> My king (wants) to dig,
> At that day, to Nippur he went,
> The warrior Pabilsag, to the place of Enlil
> was his embarkation."[92]

Following this come a number of unintelligible lines and then a break. In this break we would expect that Pabilsag presented his plea to Enlil, i. e. that he wants to dig up some fields in Isin. Also we would expect Enlil to have granted Pabilsag the permission and approved the latter's agrarian plans.

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91) For further discussion on Pabilsag see above note 26.

92) UMBS, loc. cit., obv. I 16-22.

In the remnants of lines in col. II, Pabilsag seems to be back in Isin. The very first remaining line starts with Nininsina (Pabilsag's wife). This fact gives further evidence that Pabilsag is now back in Isin. The text, moreover, goes on to tell us that both Pabilsag and Nininsina were happy. Nininsina is seemingly described as having given her husband the "hoe" ($^{gi\check{s}}$al) at the Isin canal 93) where they were standing, most probably, to inaugurate Pabilsag's agricultural project. Unexpectedly, Enlil also is seemingly there: "Enlil, at the canal he stood up and spoke to him (Pabilsag)." 94) This, presumably, might indicate further support for Pabilsag's project by Enlil.

The story still goes on but unfortunatly our composition is mutilated at this point, and a large break comes after that.

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93) For the reading of the group of signs SAL+SILA$_4$+SIG as mir$_x$-sig see *MSL* IX p. 116 note to line 433, where the name of Nininsina the deity of Isin is written orthographically (*TCL* XV 10 line 376) as ^{d}nin-SAL+SILA$_4$-sig, and pronounced (*CT* XXV 3 line 51) as ^{d}nin-mir^{mi-ir}-sig^{si-ig}.
For i$_7$-SAL+SILA$_4$-SIG = *isinītu*, *išinītu* see *CAD* I/J 197^b s.v. *isinû* : i$_7$ ÍD.SAL.SILA$_4$.SIG = *i-na i-si-ni-ti* "through the Isin canal" (: "Nininsina's Journey to Nippur," *KAR* 16 line 30). This canal also occurs in an unpublished list of canals (N 6112, identified by Å. Sjöberg) and the dupls., *SLT* no. 213 col. IX 14, and no. 214 rev. IV 15.

94) *UMBS* *loc*. *cit*., obv II 8.

To sum up, after Pabilsag made up his mind to undertake a project of agricultural excavation in his cult city Isin, he journeyed to his father Enlil in order to get the latter's approval and blessings. Enlil, seemingly, blessed the project. Therefore, this journey has been classified as a "petitioning journey."

B. Reporting Journeys

a) Ningirsu's Journey to Eridu:(95)

Actually, our information about this journey is based solely on the data presented by Gudea texts. This is because no separate composition dealing with this particular journey has yet been found.

As it has been stated before, Ningirsu, who is also called Ninurta and Pabilsag, was originally and until the Third Dynasty of Ur the son of Enki. Therefore, Ningirsu's journey to Eridu might be considered as further support for this thesis.(96)

According to Sumerian theological tradition, Ningirsu is considered the tutelary deity of Lagash, the city in which Gudea had constructed his temple. After Gudea had finished building his É-ninnu-temple, Ningirsu, his city god, made a trip to Eridu, apparently to notify Enki ceremoniously of Gudea's accomplishment. The passage which describes this trip of Ningirsu reads as follows:

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95) Å. Sjöberg in RLA III 482 no. 4 gives a summary of this journey.

96) For further discussion, see note 26 above.

"The year has passed, the month has elapsed,
The New-Year ....[97] in heaven,
The month in this house (the E-ninnu temple) has entered,
From this month, three days have elapsed,
(then) Ningirsu came back from Eridu."[98]

In another place Ningirsu is described as having paid a second visit to Enki in Eridu. This time the text tells us that when Ningirsu comes back from his ceremonial reporting trip to Eridu, the throne, referring to Gudea's rule in the city of Lagash, will be firm. This reference might be explained indirectly as blessings of Enki to Gudea. This passage goes as follows:

"To the warrior, when he goes to Eridu,
They will say bon voyage,
Ningirsu, when he comes back from Eridu,
The throne in the (well) established city will be firm."[99]

To end, this type of trip which represents a formal notification of a city's deity to his father is, so far, attested only in the context of announcing the building of temples. As we shall see, the following journey is also made for the purpose of proclaiming the completion of a temple.

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97) A. Falkenstein, SAHG p. 168, translates the verb phrase i.e., im-ma-DU as "eingetreten," which does not seem to fit the context here.

98) Gud. Cyl. B III 5-9.

99) Gud. Cyl. B VIII 13-16.

B. b) Enki's Journey to Nippur:

Since the journey under consideration is fully edited in this dissertation, the discussion below will be more extensive than that of previous trips and will include the following items:

(1) Text Reconstruction.

(2) Contents.

(1) Text Reconstruction:

This composition has been reconstructed from 47 tablets and fragments, of which 21 were previously published. As early as 1914 Stephen Langdon published his copy of text N.100) Following that in 1917, the same writer published a copy of text C. In 1919, Henry F. Lutz published a copy of text J. A copy of a large duplicate (text H) was published by J. B. Nies and Clarence E. Keiser in 1920. This was the extent of our knowledge until 1922 when S. Langdon published the first transliteration, translation and brief notes on this composition in his article "Two Sumerian Hymns from Eridu and Nippur."101) The main text on which Langdon's article was based is our text A which was republished by Langdon in 1923. Actually, this is the best preserved text among all the duplicates that we have. In addition, H. de Genouillac copied and published in 1930 three more duplicates (texts E, I and R_2) of this composition.

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100) Note that all texts will be referred to here only by their alphabetical letters. Their locations and the related details will follow in a separate table. It must also be noted that S. N. Kramer has collated text N and published his collation in JAOS LX p. 242.

101) S. Langdon, AJSL XXXIX p. 161 ff.

Edward Chiera copied and published texts F, G, L and M. in 1934. Another small fragment (text R_1) was copied and published by S. N. Kramer in 1944. In the same year, a summary of this composition was published by the same writer in his SM p. 62 f.

In 1951, A. Falkenstein published his translation of this composition.[102] This translation was incorporated in 1953 by the same writer in his SAHG p. 133 ff.

Further, C. J. Gadd and S. N. Kramer published two more duplicates (texts B and D) in 1963 in copy only. Text B is the second largest exemplar we have, and it covers the whole composition. It should be noted that, although this text is fairly well preserved, its copy as well as that of text D undoubtedly need further collation. The same writers published (1966) a small fragment (text R) which also belongs to this composition. In 1967, I. Bernhardt and S. N. Kramer published three more duplicates (texts P, Q and R_3). The copies of these texts also need further collation.

In the course of this study, 26 more unpublished text have been identified in the University Museum and other collections. These unpublished texts are S — Z and AA — RR. The distribution of these texts is as follows:

S, T and RR : the originals are in Instanbul. Kramer's copies were utilized in this study.

U - Z : the originals are in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. These texts have been collated by the writer last summer.

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(102) A. Falkenstein, Sumer VII/2: "Die Eridu-Hymne" p. 119 ff.

AA - DD : the originals of these texts, at the present time, are temporarily in the University Museum, Philadelphia on loan from the Iraq Museum for study.

EE - QQ : all the originals of these texts are in the University Museum.

A collation of some of the published texts (as well as those unpublished texts in the Iraq Museum: texts U-Z) was made by the writer; in particular texts: A (in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. It must be noted that this text is a prism and not a tablet, therefore, calling its faces "columns" as Langdon did is incorrect),103) C, G, J, M and O. Needless to say, these collations together with the new unpublished texts were of great help in correcting the copies, clarifying many obscurities and making possible a better understanding of the entire composition.

A table containing all the published and unpublished texts utilized for the reconstruction of this composition will be presented below. The locations of the published texts as well as the museum numbers of the unpublished texts will appear in this table. Moreover, the preserved lines of this composition in each text will be given in the same table.

All the duplicates of this composition give a single version of this myth. In some instances, there are texts which omit a few lines,104)

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103) S. Langdon, OECT I Pls. I-IV, as well as idem., AJSL XXXIX p. 161 ff.

104) These texts are: B (omits lines 25-26); I (omits line 49); G (omits line 73); E (omits line 81); M (omits line 91); R (omits line 50); Y (omits lines 50-51); JJ (omits lines 21 and 23); M (omits line 91); NN (omits lines 69-71 and 78).

but in no case are lines added.

TABLE OF SOURCES 105)

Text	Location	Preserved Lines
A =	OECT I Face I-IV	1- end
B =	UET VI/1 no. 119 obv-rev.	1 - end
C =	UMBS X/2 no. 20	obv., = 1-26
		rev.,= 55-72
D =	UET VI/1 no. 120	obv., = 1-11
		rev., = 12-14
E =	TCL XVI no. 94 (Pl. CLXVI)	obv., = 1-17
		rev., = 82-85
F =	SEM 81	obv., = 19-26
		rev., - 40-42
G =	SEM 85	obv., = 30-41
		rev., = 65-80

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105) The museum initials which will appear before the museum number of the unpublished texts are:

N : Nippur Collection (the University Museum, Philadelphia)
Ni : Nippur Collection, Istanbul.
UM : The University Museum, Philadelphia
CBS : The Catalogue of the Babylonian Section (the University Museum, Philadelphia)
2N-T : The 2nd Nippur Joint Expedition.
3N-T : The 3rd Nippur Joint Expedition.
IM : The Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

H =	*BIN* II no. 23	obv., and rev.,= 33-102
I =	*TCL* XVI no. 52	obv. and rev., = 33-102
J =	*UMBS* I/2 no. 105	obv., = 45-65 rev., = 66-86
K =	*TAD* VIII/2 (Ni 4048)	obv., = 48-59 rev., = 73-77
L =	*SEM* 84	obv., = 48-59 rev., = 72-79
M =	*SEM* 83	obv., = 86-100 rev., = 101-117
N =	*BE* XXXI no. 20	obv., = missing rev., col. I = 91-98 rev., col. II = 120-129
O =	*SEM* 82	obv., = 111-117 rev., = not inscribed
P =	*TMHS NF* IV no. 2	obv., = 1-25 rev., = 26-50
Q =	*TMHSNF* IV no. 3	obv., = 17-30 rev., = 31-39
R =	*UET* VI/2 no. 185	obv., = 45-54 rev., = 55-60

R_1 =	SLTNi no. 23	obv., = 72-78 rev., = 79-87
R_2 =	TCL XVI 54 (Pl. CXVI)	obv., = 86-108 rev., = 109-129
R_3 =	TMHSNF IV no. 83	obv., = missing rev., = 19 - 25
S =	Ni 4280	obv.,$^?$/rev.,$^?$ = 111 - 115
T =	Ni 9646	obv., = 24 - 32 rev., = 39 - 44
U =	2N-T 406 (IM 58960)	obv., = 1-7 rev., = 36-40
V =	3N-T 249 (IM 58404)	obv., = 9-20 rev., = 21-31
W =	3N-T 370 (IM 58449)	obv., = missing rev., Col. I = 74-88 rev., Col. II = 105-118
X =	3N-T 489 (IM 58514)	obv., = 22-31 rev., = 35-39
Y =	3N-T 532 (IM 58536)	obv., = 35-54 rev., = 55-67
Z =	3N-T 791 (IM 58711)	obv., = 79-95 rev., = 96-108

AA =	3N-T 900 (7)	obv., = 81-85
		rev., = 86-89
BB =	3N-T 901 (49)	obv., = 3-13
		rev., = 16-20
CC =	3N-T 901 (59)	obv., = 7-12
		rev., = 22-27
DD =	3N-T 919 (471)	obv., = 34-49
		rev., = unplaceable traces
EE =	CBS 2167	obv., col. I = 11-25
		rev., = col. IV = 112-123
FF =	CBS 2216	obv., = 1-11
		rev., = 51-65
GG =	CBS 10337	obv., = 52-54
		rev., = 55-56
HH =	CBS 10314	obv., = 117-123
		rev., = 124-129
II =	CBS 10350	obv., = 93-104
		rev., = 106-111
JJ =	UM 29-13-207	obv., = 4-26
		rev., = 27-50
KK =	UM 29-15-337	obv., = 60-76
		rev., = 98-103

LL = UM 29-16-184 obv., = 31-39
rev., = 40-53
MM = N 3204 obv., = 80-94
rev., = 113-125
NN = N 3515 obv., = 60-79
rev., = 125-128
OO = N 4183 obv., = 38-47
rev., = 80
PP = N 4182 obv., = 80-96
rev., = 118-129
QQ = CBS 13665 obv., = 1-3
rev., - 58-60
RR = Ni 9749 obv., = destroyed
rev., = 120-125

(2) Contents:

The following divisions, on which our discussion will be based, have been suggested by the contents of our composition:

i. Mythological introduction (lines 1-4).

ii. Building of the temple (lines 5-17).

iii. Isimud describes the temple (lines 18-82).

iv. Enki travels to Nippur (lines 83-92).

v. His arrival in Nippur and preparations for a banquet (lines 93-116).

vi. Enlil praises and blesses Enki's achievement (lines 117-127).

i. Mythological introduction:

According to Sumerian mythology, Eridu was considered one of the five cities which ante-date the diluvian period.[106] From a Babylonian account of the "Creation Story" we can quote the following passage which shows how archaic Eridu was:[107]

> "A holy house, a house of the gods in a holy place, had not been made;
>
> A reed had not come forth, a tree had not been created;

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[106] These cities are: Eridu, Badtibira, Larak, Sippar, and Shuruppak, see UMBS V no. 1 col. II 93-97.

[107] This Neo-Babylonian text (dating from the sixth century B.C.) has been translated and commented upon briefly by A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis, (1963) University of Chicago Press. See in particular lines 1-12 on p. 62 of this reference.

A brick had not been laid, a brick mold had
not been built;
A house had not been made, a living creature
had not been placed (therein);
Nippur had not been made, Ekur had not been
built;
Uruk had not been made, E-anna had not been
built;
The Apsû had not been made, Eridu had not
been built;
A holy house, a house of the gods, its dwelling,
had not been made;
All the lands were sea;
The spring which is the sea was a water pipe;
Then Eridu was made ...."

Accordingly, the introductory passage in our composition (see lines 1-4) is an early reference 108) to the ancient world of Sumer and Eridu.

ii. Building of the temple:

After the 'destiny was determined ' and the people were created, Enki built his house. This is the same house

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108) A. Falkenstein, Sumer VII/2 p. 119 dates our composition back to the Third Dynasty of Ur(21st Century B.C.).

which was referred to in the incipit of the Neo-Babylonian passage (just mentioned): "a holy house, a house of the gods." The building of this temple, according to our composition, was done by Enki himself. This might show a traditional and mythical concept of temples as having been built by deities in the archaic Sumerian periods.

Our text provides us with a nice description of the temple and how Enki built it of silver and lapis lazuli and decorated it with gold. An interesting phenomenon appears in lines 14-17 where the temple and its parts speak. Note in particular line 17 where the text reads: "during the night, the house praised its lord (and) made everything good for him." This might well be considered as a metaphor applied to the people who take care of the temple. This seems to be more likely than the literal interpretation of the line, but A. Falkenstein in contrast states that "die Tempel und ihre Einzelteile sprechen und damit den Ruhn ihrer göttlichen Herren künden, darin ähnlich dem im Tempel aufgestellten Weihfiguren, die in dauerndem Gebet vor den Göttern verharren."[109]

iii. Isimud describes the temple:

Isimud [110] now emerges on the scene. In this long passage he is pictured as addressing the temple, talking to its brickwork, and describing its wonderful architecture. His descriptive account of the temple, which gives the impression of a poetic embellishment, has been proven correct, in some aspects, by the archaeological evidence. The simile applied to the door of the temple and its threshold in lines 31-32: "your door is a lion who takes a man; your threshold is a lion coming down on a man," is undoubtedly a striking and factual description of the "Lion of Eridu" uncovered in 1947 by an Iraqi expedition.111) The reference to the temple's vault in line 30: "your vault is a bull raising its horns " is another feature which has been identified by the excavation of the vaulted window and the vaulted door in the Uruk Building in square 5/H in Eridu.112) In addition, the simile in line 27: "your bolt is a horrifying lion," might well be a factual description of the temple's bolt. That is to suggest that the bolt could very well be carved in the shape of a lion.113) Finally, in line 28: "your beam is the 'Bull of heaven'......," is clearly a poetic application referring to the "Bull of heaven" which is mentioned in the "Epic of

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[109] A. Falkenstein, Sumer, loc. cit., p. 124^{a}.

[110] Isimud is described by the Sumerian literary texts as being the sukkal of Enki. This title is, as yet, not well defined. A probable meaning can be given, for the sake of understanding: "messenger," "vizier," or the like.

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111). For further discussion see Fuad Safar, Sumer III/2 p. 110 as well as Pls. VII-VIII. Also see note 7 above.

112). Fuad Safar (Sumer, just cited, p. 108) states that the shape of the vault is a "pointed arch built on the 'corbel' principle," see also the photo of this vault on Pl. VI there.

113). See also W. Heimpel, Tierbilder p. 334.

Gilgamesh."[114] Perhaps the beams of the temple were carved with representations of the "Bull of Heaven."

Isimud goes on and tells us more about the greatness of the temple and how Enki prepared everything nicely for it. Then the text enumerates the varied types of musical instruments with which Enki provided his temple (line 62 ff.).[115] In the closing lines of this part (lines 70-77), Isimud appears to move gradually from a description of the temple and its parts to a description of its location, surroundings and its pleasant and fruitful garden, where "the birds brood." He continues his description of the temple's surroundings with a short passage depicting a marsh and its wild life.

In a poetic style, he describes how the different kinds of fish play for Enki, adorn themselves for him and "rise before him against the waves" when he rises. Then, the scribe tells us that Enki "stands a marvel unto the Abzu,"[116] "brings joy into the Engur[116]."

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114) In the story of the 'Bull of Heaven' ("Gilgamesh Epic,") Tablet VI line 94ff., Ishtar (the Sum. Inanna), in order to revenge herself on Gilgamesh whom she accused of having insulted her, and in order to challenge him, she pleaded with her father, An, to create the "Bull" for her. So, the "Bull" was created and soon after Ishtar thought that the time had come to overcome Gilgamesh. Enkidu, the faithful friend of Gilgamesh, caught Ishtar by surprise and slew the "Bull of Heaven." Therefore, Ishtar got angry and mourned over the "Bull."

115) For further discussion on these musical instruments, see the commentary on these lines below.

116) For the meaning of Abzu and Engur, see the commentary to line 34 below.

iv. Enki travels to Nippur:

The scribe does not start immediately with the description of Enki's journey. Rather he begins by depicting Enki as being "full of awesomeness." So not only fish, as previously mentioned, but even the Euphrates, the fearful river, rises before him in respect.

Following that, our scribe describes some of the implements of Enki's boat on which he will embark on his trip to Nippur, such as the punting pole and the rudder. Enki now appears to be ready to board his ship. At the time of his embarkation, the "year is full of abundance." This, in Sumerian theology, is considered as a favorable sign, since it means the journeying deity will gain the blessings of his father to whom he is going. And so, the text tells us that Enki's boat is now leaving the quay of Eridu and sailing to Nippur.

v. His arrival in Nippur and preparations for a banquet:

Our scribe, here, does not seem to give us a transition in his description. In other words, instead of telling us that Enki's boat arrived in Nippur, he simply jumps to the next section where he tells us that Enki is now preparing a banquet for Enlil. Enki is described as having slaughtered oxen and plentiful sheep. In addition, he provided the temple where the banquet took place with musical instruments.

As part of a banquet, beer must be prepared. So, in a poetic description, our scribe tells us that as Enki entered the

Gigunna (a sacred part in a temple),117) he stepped forward to prepare the ordinary beer as well as the fine beer. Now, Enki was busy pouring out the ingredients of the fine beer and mixing the ingredients of the emmer-wheat beer in big bronze containers. Then he brewed (lit. he mixed) the bran-mash in the kukurru-container so as to get good beer. Further, in order to make the beer of excellent quality, date syrup was added to the mixture.118) At this point, the beer making process appears to reach its final stage. Therefore, when the "bran-mash became a syrupy substance, he (Enki) spread all of it out to cool off."119) Enki now appears to be ready to banquet with Enlil, his father. As one would expect, he invited the great deities to the feast, such as An (the chief Sumerian god) whom Enki had seated on a "lofty place," Enlil who was seated by Enki next to An, and Nintu(the mother goddess)who was seated at a 'big-side.' Afterwards the Anunna (the earthly) deities seated themselves.

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117) For further comment on the Gigunna, see our commentary to line 97 below.

118) For similar occurrence, cf. M. Civil, Stud. Opp. p. 73 line 34: làl geštin téš-ba sur-ra-a "Brewing (it) with honey (and) wine."

119) For further discussion on the process of cooling off the bran-mash, see our commentary to line 103 below. Obviously this cooled bran-mash must have been steeped later to gain beer.

Everyone now was feasting. The divine waiters who were serving the banquet were serving beer to the deities. Notwithstanding the fact that Enki did the major work in preparing this banquet, the divine waiters on their part contributed much to it by preparing enormous bronze vessels, and shining and polishing the *tilimda*-vessels (probably drinking objects).

As in "Inanna's Journey to Eridu" (previously discussed), the assembled deities seem to incite the goddess Uraš to hold a contest over the drinking objects. This seems to be a customary *cliché* attested to in the divine banquets.

After an unintelligible line (115), the banquet seems to be over. Enlil, in whose honor the feast was prepared, appears to be pleased. The last line in this passage: "in Nippur they made Enlil happy," seems to imply that the deities who came to pay homage to Enlil brought him gifts which made him happy.

vi. Enlil praises and blesses Enki's achievement:

Enlil, who was now happy, stood up and addressed the assembled deities announcing and praising with these words the achievement of Enki:

"My son has built a house, the king Enki,
Eridu, like a mountain, he made to grow up from the earth,
(And) in a good place he has built it,
The house built of silver, decorated with lapis lazuli,

> The house which makes all the tigi-drums
> play correctly, (and which) gives incantations,
> The holy songs make all of the house a lovely
> place,
> The shrine Abzu, the 'good destiny' of Enki
> befitting the divine powers."

As in "Nigirsu's Journey to Eridu" (previously discussed) the scribe does not tell us explicitly that Enki told Enlil that he has built a house. But it is clear enough, to judge from Enlil's address (just quoted), that Enki, in his visit to Enlil, and most probably during the banquet, told Enlil that he had built the temple. Therefore, this trip has been classified as a "reporting journey."

It is to be noted that the last two lines in this composition are actually words of praise written by the scribe who composed our poem. They are directed to Enki in honor of his successful achievement.

3. CONCLUSIONS

From the previous discussion, it appears that the main motivation of the traveling deity in the first category of journeys (i.e., group A) is to get blessings and favors from the deity whom he is visiting (usually his father). With the blessings the position of the journeying deity in his own city will be stronger and his power will be unchallenged. With the favors and the "divine functions" (the *me*'s and the *nam*'s) he can maintain the well being of his cult city and create civilization in it.

In addition, the journeys might very well represent a mythological explanation for the growth and the expansion of civilization and urban life in Sumer. The Sumerian concept of their universe considered civilization to have started in a single place. The major gods of Sumer dwelt in specific cities such as Shuruppak and Eridu. These places, according to Sumerian mythology, were the first cities and were created by the gods. Therefore they were the seed cities where early civilization had started. In order to create civilization in another city, the deity of that city had to get the "divine functions" and the blessings, which were considered essential for life, from some other city. Such a process can be considered as a mythological explanation for the amazing cultural growth which southern Mesopotamia witnessed from early times. This motif was incorporated into later journey myths to explain the creation of Šulgi's (B.C. 2093-2046) empire and to explain the expansion of irrigation at Isin. In journey A. d). , for example, we saw how Nanna interceded with Enlil for his steward Šulgi to get the permission for the latter to destroy the "rebellious lands." This statement actually explains a political and historical fact, and shows how Šulgi was successful in defeating his enemies and establishing his unsurpassed empire in Sumer.

In journey A. g)., we have seen how Pabilsag, the lord of Isin, traveled to Nippur in order to get permission to dig in the fields and to establish agrarian projects so as to maintain the well being of his city Isin. It is quite probable that more journey myths will be found in the future.

In the second category of journeys (group B), we have seen how Ningirsu and Enki, after finishing the building of their temples, journeyed to their father to report the completion of the temples to him. This stress on temple construction shows another aspect of the cultural growth of Sumer, since temples played a major role in the establishment and the expansion of Sumerian civilization. The importance of the role of the temple in Sumer is summarized by A. L. Oppenheim in his Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 107:

> "The role of the temple in relation to community, as far as it can be ascertained, was twofold; certain social responsibilities were assumed by the sanctuary, and certain cultic services were rendered to the community as a whole but hardly to the individual. The temple endeavored in various ways to correct the grievances of the economically underprivileged. This was done in the Old Babylonian period by establishing standards of weights and measures to prevent the victimizing of the poor and by standardizing the rate of interest, whose fluctuations had been constantly used in favor of

the creditor. In general, the temple sought to set an example, to establish norms and just standards. Quite frequently in the Old Babylonian, and sometimes in later periods, we find the temple granting small loans without interest in cases of hardship."

Part II.

1. TRANSLITERATION

1. u$_4$-ri-a nam ba-tar-ra-ba

2. mu ḫé-gál an ù-tu-da

3. un-e ú-šim-gin$_x$ ki-in-dar-ra-ba

4. en-abzu lugal ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$

5. ^{d}en-ki en nam-tar-tar-re-dè

6. é-a-ni kù na$_4$-za-gìn-na téš-bi ba-ni-in-dù

7. kù na$_4$-za-gìn-bi u$_4$ kár-kár-a-ka

8. èš-e abzu-a ul im-ma-ni-in-túmu

9. mùš-kù-galam-du$_{11}$-ga abzu-ta è-a

10. en ^{d}nu-dím-mud-ra mu-un-na-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš

11. é kù-ga i-ni-in-dù na$_4$-za-gìn-na i-ni-in-gùn

12. gal-le-eš guškin-ga šu-tag ba-ni-in-du$_{11}$

13. eridu^{ki}-ga é gú-a bí-in-dù

14. sig$_4$-bi inim du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ad gi$_4$-gi$_4$

15. gi-sal-la-bi gu$_4$-gin$_x$ ur$_5$ im-ša$_4$

16. é-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ gù-nun-di-dam

17. é-e lugal-bi-ir gi$_6$-a ár im-ma-ab-túm du$_{10}$-bi mu-un-gá-gá

18. lugal ^{d}en-ki-ra sukkal ^{d}isimu (= ^{d}PAP.SIG$_7$.
NUN.ME.EZEN x KAS)-dè mí-du$_{10}$-ge-eš im-me

19. é-e im-ma-gub gù im-ma-dé-e

20. sig$_4$-e im-ma-gub gù im-ma-sum-mu

21. é kù na$_4$-za-gìn-na ki-gar-ra

22. temen-bi abzu-a si-ga

23. nun-e abzu-ta mí-du$_{11}$-ga

24. ^{i_7}idigna ^{i_7}buranun-na maḫ ní šu-ti-a

25. abzu-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ ul-la bí-in-túm-mu

26. giš-sag-kul-zu gaba-šu-gar nu-tuku

27. giš-si-gar-zu ur-maḫ ní-gùr-ru

28. giš-ùr-zu gu$_4$-an-na mùš-kù-galam-du$_{11}$-ga

29. gi-kid-zu za-gìn-na giš-ùr-šè gùn-a

30. nir-gam-ma-zu gu$_4$ si-gùr-ru

31. ká-zu ur-maḫ lú šu-ti-a

32. i-dib-zu pirìg lú-ra e$_{11}$-dè

33. abzu ki-sikil me-te-gál

34. é-engur-ra lugal-zu gìri im-ma-ri-in-du

35. ^{d}en-ki lugal-abzu-ke$_{4}$

36. temen-zu na$_{4}$-gug im-ma-da-an-sá

37. KAxLI-KAxLI za-gìn-na mí im-ma-ri-in-du$_{11}$

38. é-^{d}en-ki-ke$_{4}$ làl-ḫar-ra kù-kur$_{7}$-aka

39. gu$_{4}$ lugal-bi-ir ús-a sì-ga

40. ní-bi-šè ur$_{5}$-ša$_{4}$ téš-bi-šè ad gi$_{4}$-gi$_{4}$

41. é-engur-ra ^{d}en-ki-ke$_{4}$ gi-dub-ba-an-kù lá-àm

42. šà-zu-ta bára-maḫ ki-gar-ra

43. zà-du$_{8}$-zu á-múš-kù-an-na

44. abzu ki-sikil ki-nam-tar-ra

45. en-geštú-ga lugal ^{d}en-ki

46. ^{d}nu-dím-mud en-eridu^{ki}-ga-ke$_{4}$

47. šà-šeg$_{9}$-bar-ra lú igi nu-bar-re-dam

48. abgal(=NUN.ME)-zu sig$_{7}$-bar-ra bí-in-du$_{8}$

49. eridu^{ki} ^{d}en-ki-ke$_{4}$ ki-ág-gá-ni

50. é-engur-ra šà-bi ḫé-gál sù-ga

51. abzu zi-kalam-ma ki-ág-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$

52. é zà-ga dù-a me-galam-ma túm-ma

53. eridu^{ki} gissu-zu ab-šà-ga lá-a

54. a-ab-ba-zi-ga gaba-šu-gar nu-tuku

55. i$_7$-maḫ ní-gál-la su-kalam-ma zi-zi

56. é-engur-ra urú-maḫ ki-ús-sa

57. é da-engur-ra pirig abzu-šà-ga

58. é-maḫ-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ geštú kalam-e sum-mu

59. akkil-zu i$_7$-maḫ-zi-ga-gin$_x$

60. lugal ^{d}en-ki-ra mu-un-na-du$_{12}$-àm

61. é-kù-ga-ni-šè du$_{10}$-bi mu-un-gá-gá

62. ^{giš}zà-mí ^{giš}al-gar-balag-sur$_x$-za

63. ^{giš}ḫar-ḫar ^{giš}sa-bí-tum ^{giš}mi-rí-tum é si-ga

64. ad-du$_{10}$-ga nundum búr-re balag-gá

65. šà-ní-ba-ka ad ḫa-ba-ni-ib-ša$_4$

66. ^{giš}al-gar-kù-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ ní-ba mu-un-na-du$_{12}$

67. tigi-imin-e ad ḫé-em-mi-ib-ša$_4$

68. du$_{11}$-ga-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ šu nu-bal-e-dè

69. KA x̣ x̣ ki-bi-šè gál-la-àm

70. [sukkal] ^{d}isimu-dè sig$_4$-e gụ̀ bạ-an-sum

71. é-engur-ra-ke$_4$ šìr-du$_{10}$-ge-eš im-me

72. mu-un-dù-a-ba mu-un-dù-a-ba

73. eridu^{ki} ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ im-ma-an-íl-la-ba

74. ḫur-sag-galam-kad$_5$-dam a-e ba-diri

75. zà-ga-a-ni giš-gi-a ba-an-ku

76. kiri$_6$-sa$_7$-ga gurun íl-la-a-ba

77. mušen-e haš$_4$-bi mu-un-gá-gá

78. suḫur^{kua}-e ú-làl-e e-ne mu-un-na-è

79. gud^{kua}-e gi-zi-di$_4$-di$_4$-lá kun mu-un-na-sud-e

80. ^{d}en-ki zi-ga-na kua i-zi-éš na-zi

81. abzu-e u$_6$ àm-ma-gub

82. engur-ra ḫúl-la mu-ni-ib-túm

83. a-ab-ba- gin$_x$ ní mu-un-da-gál

84. i$_7$-maḫ-gin$_x$ su-zi mu-un-da-ri

85. ^{i_7}buranun-na u$_x$-lu-šúr mu-un-da-an-zi

86. giš-gi-muš-a-ni ^{d}MUŠ-a-ni

87. giš-gisal-a-ni gi-tur-tur-a-ni

88. ^{d}en-ki u$_5$-a-ni mu ḫé-gál sù-ga

89. ^{giš}má ní-bi nam-du$_8$ éš ní-bi nam-KU

90. é-eridu^{ki}-ga-ke$_4$ im-ma-kar-ra

91. i$_7$-dè lugal-bi-ir ad im-mi-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$

92. gù-bi gù-amar-ra gù-áb-du$_{10}$-ga-ke$_4$

93. ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ gu$_4$ im-ma-ab-gaz-e udu im-ma-ab-šár-re

94. ^{kuš}á-lá nu-gál-la ki-bi-šè sá im-du$_{11}$

95. ùb-zabar nu-gál-la ki-bi-šè im-mi-in-è

96. nibru^{ki}-šè gìri-ni aša mu-un-du

97. gi-gun$_4$-na-èš-e-nibru^{ki}-a im-ma-da-an-ku$_4$-ku$_4$

98. ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ kaš-kaš-e ba-te kurún-kurún-e ba-te

99. kurún gal-zabar-ra ba-ni-in-dé

100. ulušin aš-àm ba-ni-in-sur

101. ^{dug}ku-kur-rú kaš-du$_{10}$-du$_{10}$-ga duḫ-bi bí-in-sá-sá

102. ka-bé làl-zú-lum-ma ni-ír$_9$ ba-ni-in-ak

103. duḫ-bi nì-làl-làl aš-a še$_x$-šè bí-in-du$_8$

104. ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ èš-e nibru^{ki}-àm

105. a-a-ni ^{d}en-líl-ra ninda mu-un-kú-e

106. an ki-maḫ-a im-ma-an-tuš

107. an-ra ^{d}en-líl im-ma-ni-in-ús

108. ^{d}nin-tu zà-gal-la im-mi-in-tuš

109. ^{d}a-nun-na ki-ús-ki-ús-bi im-mi-in-dúr-ru-ne-eš

110. lú-e-ne kaš ì-na$_x$-na$_x$-ne ^{kaš}kurún im-du$_{10}$-ge-ne

111. zabar-MIR im-gur$_4$-gur$_4$-re-e-ne

112. zabar-e ^{d}uraš-e a-da-man mu-un-è-ne

113. ti-lim-da má-gur$_8$-kù im-ba-ba-re-e-ne

114. kaš ba-du$_{11}$ kurún ba-du$_{10}$-ga-ta

115. é-ta gìri-bi-a ba-ra-gar-ra-ta

116. ^{d}en-líl nibru^{ki}-a ḫúl-la mu-ni-ib-túm

117. ^{d}en-líl-le ^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne gù mu-na-dé-e

118. dingir-gal-gal-la ì-su$_8$-ge-en-za-na

119. ^{d}a-nun-na ub-šu-unken-na-ka si mu-un-sá-sá-e-en-za-na

120. dumu-mu é mu-un-dù lugal ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$

121. eridu^{ki} ḫur-sag-gin$_x$ ki-ta ba-ra-ri

122. ki-du$_{10}$-ga-àm é im-ma-an-dù

123. eridu^{ki} ki-sikil lú nu-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-da

124. é kù-ga dù-a za-gìn-na gùn-a

125. é tigi-imin-e si-sá-e nam-šub sum-ma

126. šìr-kù téš é ki al-du$_{10}$-ga

127. èš-abzu nam-du$_{10}$-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ me-galam-ma túm-ma

128. eridu^{ki} é-kù-ga dù-a-ba

129. a-a-^{d}en-ki zà-mí

2. TRANSLATION

1. In those remote days, when destiny was determined,

2. In a year (full of) abundance, which An had created,

3. When people sprang up from the earth like herbs (and) plants,

4. (Then) the lord Enki, lord of Abzu,

5. Enki, the lord who determines the destinies,

6. Built all of his house with silver (and) lapis lazuli,

7. Its silver (and) lapis lazuli are shining like the day.

8. Into the shrine Abzu he brought joy,

9. Its artfully-made 'shape', comes out from the Abzu,

10. All (the gods) march to lord Nudimmud.

11. Of silver he built the house, with lapis lazuli he decorated it,

12. Grandly he decorated it with gold,

13. In Eridu, he built the house on the bank,

14. Its brickwork is speaking, it is giving advice (to its lord),

15. Its reed roof-fences roar like a bull,

16. The house of Enki shouts loudly.

17. During the night the house praised its lord (and) made everything good for him,

18. To the lord Enki, Isimud, the sukkal, speaks gently,

19. At the house he stands (and) speaks to it,

20. At the brickwork he stands (and) talks (about it):

21. House, built of silver (and) lapis lazuli,

22. Whose foundation goes deep into the Abzu,

23. (And) which has been cared for by the prince (Enki) in the Abzu,

24. (Which like) the Tigris and the Euphrates, is great (and) awe-inspiring,

25. Into Enki's Abzu joy is brought.

26. Your lock has no rival,

27. Your bolt is a horrifying lion,

28. Your beam is the 'Bull of heaven,' (its) 'shape' is artfully made,

29. Your reed-mat is (blue like) lapis lazuli, beautifully ornamented on the beam,

30. Your vault is a bull raising its horns,

31. Your door is a lion who takes a man,

32. Your threshold is a lion coming down on a man,

33. Abzu is the pure place full of ornament,

34. E-engurra! Your lord has come to you,

35. Enki, the lord of Abzu,

36. With carnelian he has embellished your foundation,

37. With lapis lazuli he has carefully fitted out the ..... for you,

38. Lalḫar, the house of Enki, is refined silver,

39. A bull obedient to its lord,

40. Roaring by itself, at the same time giving advice (to its lord).

41. E-engurra (which) Enki ....s with the holy stylus,

42. In your midst a lofty dais is founded,

43. Your threshold is the holy ramp$^{?}$ of heaven,

44. Abzu, pure place, the place where destiny is determined.

45. The lord of wisdom, the lord Enki,

46. Nudimmud, the lord of Eridu,

47. Lets nobody look into the midst of the Abzu,

48. Your *abgal* who lets his hair down his back.

49. Eridu which Enki loves,

50. E-engurra whose heart is full of abundance,

51. Abzu, the life of the Land (Sumer), the beloved of Enki,

52. House which was built on the edge, fit for the perfect divine powers,

53. Eridu! Your shadow is spreading over the midst of the sea,

54. Rising sea which has no rival,

55. Great river full of fear which frightens the Land (Sumer),

56. E-engurra! High flood touching the earth,

57. House (standing at) the edge of the Engur, lion in the midst of the Abzu,

58. Lofty house of Enki, which bestows wisdom on the Land (Sumer).

59. Your clamor is like a high rising river,

60. To the lord Enki, it (the clamor) sounds,

61. For his (Enki's) pure house, he prepared everything nice:

62. *zami*-lyres, *algarsurrû*-musical instruments,

63. *ḫarḫar*-string instruments, *sabītum*-lyres, *mirītum*-lyres (and now) the house is full.

64. (With) a sweet sound, ... lip(s) ... of the harp.

65. He (Enki) let them (the musical instruments) resound by themselves,

66. The holy wooden drum of Enki, he made to resound by itself,

67. All the tigi-drums he let them hum.

68. The word of Enki is irrefutable,

69. The [...] word exists.

70. (Thus) said Isimud to the brickwork,

71. Praising E-engurra with sweet songs:

72. When it was built, when it was built,

73. When Enki lifted up Eridu,

74. The mountain (the temple) which is built in an artful fashion that fills the water,

75. Whose shrine spreads out on cane-brake,

76. In its pleasant garden which carries rich fruits,

77. The birds brood,

78. The giant carp plays for him (Enki) among the "honey" plants,

79. The marsh carp adorns itself for him with a tail among the young reeds.

80. When Enki rises, the fish rise before him against the waves.

81. He stands a marvel unto the Abzu,

82. Into the Engur he brings joy,

83. Like the sea, he carries awe with him,

84. Like the great river, he is full of awesomeness,

85. The Euphrates rises before him (just as before) the fierce south wind.

86. His (Enki's) punting pole (is) his Imdudu,

87. His rudder (is) the small reeds.

88. When Enki boarded [his ship], the year is full of abundance,

89. The ship left (the quay) by itself, the tow rope ..... by itself,

90. From within the house of Eridu he left,

91. The river is giving advice to its lord,

92. Its sound is the calf's mooing (which is like) the mooing of a good cow,

93. (Then) Enki slaughters oxen (and) plentiful sheep,

94. Where there is no ala-drum, he let it come to its place,

95. Where there is no bronze ùb-drum, he sends it off to its place,

96. To Nippur he directed his steps alone,

97. Into Gigunna, the shrine Nippur, he entered,

98. Enki stepped forward (to make) the beer, he stepped forward (to prepare) the fine beer,

99. Into big bronze containers he poured out the fine beer,

100. At the same time, he mixed the emmer-wheat beer,

101. In the kukurru-container he brewed (lit. mixed) its bran-mash for a good beer,

102. (Then, by adding) the syrup of the dates into its (the container's) mouth, he made it (beer) of excellent quality,

103. (After) its (the container's) bran-mash became a syrupy substance, he spread all of it out to cool off.

104. Enki in the shrine Nippur,

105. For Enlil, his father, made a banquet,

106. He seated An on a lofty place,

107. Next to An he seated Enlil,

108. Nintu he seated at a 'big side',

109. The Anunna seated themselves.

110. (Then) the (divine waiters) gave them beer to drink (as well as) the fine beer which they have sweetened,

111. The zabar-MIR-vessels, they (the divine waiters) made enormously large.

112. (Meanwhile) they (the assembled gods) made Uraš hold a contest over the bronze objects.

113. They (the divine waiters) made the tilimda-vessels shine (like) the holy magur-boat,

114. (Then) after the beer had been prepared, the fine beer had been sweetened,

115. After .... from the house,

116. In Nippur they made Enlil happy,

117. (Then) Enlil says to the Anunnaki;

118. You great gods, who are standing here,

119. You Anunna, who came straight to the assembly,

120. My son has built a house, the king Enki,

121. Eridu, like a mountain, he made to grow up from the earth,

122. (And) in a good place he has built it,

123. Eridu the pure place where no one may enter,

124. The house built of silver, decorated with lapis lazuli,

125. The house which makes all the tigi-drums play correctly, (and which) gives incantations,

126. The holy songs make all of the house a lovely place,

127. The shrine Abzu, the 'good destiny' of Enki befitting the divine powers,

128. Eridu, the holy house having been built,

129. O Father Enki praise!

3. TEXTUAL NOTES AND VARIANTS

1. a) A. C. D. U. FF and QQ: u$_4$-ri-a. Although text E has a clear a- for u$_4$-, it is possible, however, to consider it as miscopied u$_4$ followed by -ri!-.

   b) A, D and U: nam ba-tar-ra-ba; FF: -tar- is written over an erasure; B and QQ: -ra-a-ba; E: nam ba!-tar-ra-a-ba!; C: nam ba-ta[r!].

2. a) A, C, E, U, FF, probably B and most probably QQ: mu ḫé-gál; D: <-gál>.

   b) A, B, D, E, U, QQ and probably C: an ù-tu-da; FF: -dam for -da.

3. a) A, D, E, U, FF, probably B and QQ: un-e ú-šim-gin$_x$; C: -šim!-; P is mostly mutilated and BB is illegible.

   b) A: ki-in-dar-a-ba; E: ki!-im-dar!-; C: -dar!-ra-[ba]; U: -r[a-ba]; FF: -dar-x̣-ba; QQ: -dar-[xx]; B: -ra-a-ba.

4. a) A, C, E, P, probably BB, JJ and most probably B and U: en-abzu; D: -ZU!.AB!; FF: -ZU.AB!.

   b) A, B, C, U, BB, FF and JJ: lugal ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$; P is mutilated.

5. a) A, B, C, P and FF: ^{d}en-ki; D: adds -ke$_4$; E: -ki!.

   b) A, B, C: en nam-tar-tar-re-dè; E: <en> nam-tar-tar-KA; BB: -tar-r[e]; D and U: -re-e-dè; FF: -re-dam.

6. a) A, B, C, D, E, P, U and FF: é-a-ni kù na$_4$-za-gìn-na; JJ omits the -na; FF omits the na$_4$-.

   b) A, B, D, E, P, U: téš-bi ba-ni-in-dù; C: téš!-bi ba!-; FF: té[š]-b[i b]í-in-dù; JJ: ba<-ni>-in-dù.

7. a) A, B, D, E, P: kù na$_4$-za-gìn-bi; C and FF omit the na$_4$-; BB

omits the -bi.

b) A, C, D: u_4 kár-kára-ka; B: -kár-kár-a-; E: -kạ́r-kár!-ka; P: -ka!; BB: -ḳạ́ṛ-ḳạ́ṛ-[x]; FF: [ká]r-[x-k]a; JJ:[ ]-ka.

8. a) A, C, BB and FF: èš-e abzu-a; D: ZU!AB!-; P: abzu-[x]; CC: èš-e ZU[AB-]; JJ: [ ] x̣-a; B omits the -a; E: èš! abzu-a.

b) A, E and JJ: ul im-ma-ni-in-du; B, C and D: -dù for du.

9. a) A, C, D, E, BB, CC, FF, probably B and JJ: mùš-kù-galam-du$_{11}$-ga; P: -a-, for -kù-. It is most probably a miscopy.

b) A, B, P, FF, JJ and probably V: abzu-ta è-a; C: ZU!.AB!-; D: ZU!.AB-; E: ạḅẓụ<-ta>.

10. a) C, D, P, BB, JJ, probably CC and FF: en ^{d}nu-dím-mud-ra; A: ^{d}nu-dím-mud-e (collated); E: -mụd-x̣.

b) B, C, D, E and JJ: mu-un-na-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš; A: -na-su$_8$-ge-; P omits the -un-; V: mu-na-an-.

11. a) A, C, D, E, BB, CC and probably V: é kù-ga i-ni-in-dù; B: kù-ga-àm; P: é-e; Z: [x x] kù-g[a].

b) A, D, E, V and JJ: na$_4$-za-gìn-na i-ni-in-gùn; B: -na-àm; C omits the na$_4$-; P: -gùn!.

12. So A, B, C, D, V and JJ; E: -du$_8$ for -du$_{11}$; P: -du$_{11}$!.

13. So A, B, C, P and JJ; D: in the copy, the illegible traces at the beginning of the line also seem to read eridu^{ki}-ga. Although the last sign -dù is omitted as the copy, it probably was inscribed on the edge of the tablet; E: NUN!ki! [ ]; V: -[d]ù; Z: gú-x̣.

14. So A, C, most probably B, D, P, V, Z and JJ; E: sig$_4$-bi$^!$.

15. a) A, C, V, GG and most probably JJ: gi-sal-la-bi; E omits the -la-, and -bi$^!$; P: gi$^!$-.

b) A, C, P, GG and JJ: gu$_4$-gin$_x$ ur$_5$ im-ša$_4$; B: although the traces in the copy shows ụ[r$_5$]-ša$_4$, it is possible, however, to assume that there was ụ[r$_5$ im]- on the tablet, (note that the text needs further collation); Z: gu$_4$$^!$-[ ].

16. So A, C, P, most probably B, V, Z, JJ and probably BB; E: gu$_4$-, for gù-; GG: [x] ^{d}en-líl for é-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ (positively shows that the scribe got confused).

17. a) A, V, most probably P, Z, BB and II: é-e lugal-bi-ir; C: -ir$^!$; E: -bi$^!$-ir$^!$.

b) C, E and probably P, V and Z: gi$_6$-a ár im-ma-an-túm; A: ar, for ár and -ab- for -an-; BB: also -ab-, for -an-; II omits the -a after the gi$_6$.

c) A, II and probably P: du$_{10}$-bi mu-un-gá-gá; B: -bi$^!$-šè; C and E: -bi$^!$.

18. a) A, E, V, JJ and probably P: lugal ^{d}en-ki-ra; C and GG: -ke$_4$ for -ra; Q: -ki$^!$-.

b) A, JJ, probably V and JJ: sukkal ^{d}isimu (= ^{d}PAP.SIG$_7$.NUN.ME. EZEN x KAS)-dè; B mostly is illegible; C: .SIG$_7$$^!$.,.KAS$^!$. and -dè$^!$; E: . SIG$_7$$^!$. and omits the dingir sign; P: .NUN$^!$., and x KAS is omitted; Q and Z: the dingir sign is omitted; GG: the traces followed .EZẸN. are illegible.

c) A, Q and JJ: mí-du$_{10}$-ge-eš im-me; C: mị́-zi-dè-eš for mí-du$_{10}$-ge-eš; E: -du$_{10}$!-; P: -gạ-, for -ge-.

19. a) A, F, Q, probably V: é-e im-ma-gub; C and GG: -ma-an-; E: -ma!-; P. BB and JJ: omit the -e; Z:traces are unreadable; R$_3$ preserves only -guḅ.

b) A, P and JJ: gù im-ma-dé-e; B: mu-u[n-dé-] ẹ; C: traces are illegible; E: im<-ma>-dé-e; Q: -dé!-.

20. a) A, E, Q and most probably C, F and V: sig$_4$-e im-ma-gub; P, BB and JJ omit the -e; GG: -ma-an-; R$_3$: [ ]-an-gub [ ].

b) A: gù im-ma-sum-mu; B, E, P, Q and JJ: -ma-ab-.

21. So A, Q and probably C and GG; E: ki-gar-ra-âm; F and R$_3$ omit the na$_4$-; P: ki!-.

22. So A, Q, X, JJ and probably C and CC; E: tẹmẹṇ-bi! ZU!.AB-a lá-a; F: [temen-b]i ZU!.[ ]; P: [si]-ig-ga for si-ga; V: ạbzu-a-ni, for abzu-a; R$_3$: ZU.AB! (written over an erasure).

23. So A, E, Q, V, Z and most probably B, C, F, P, R$_3$, CC and GG.

24. a) A, JJ, probably B, C, E, F, T, Z and CC: ^{i_7}idigna ^{i_7}buranun-na maḫ; Q, V and X omit the -na; B: maḫ!; R$_3$: ^{i_7}idigna!.

b) A, E, P, A, probably V and JJ: ní šu-ti-a; Q and T: š[u!]-.

25. a) A, Q, T, V, X, GG and probably C, F, R$_3$ and CC: abzu-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$; E: -ka for -ke$_4$.

b) A, X, probably V and JJ: ul-la bí-in-túm-mu; E: -me for -mu; P: -túm-me-en; Q: -túm-me! (written: ^{d}en) -en.

26. So A, Q, V, X and probably F, P and JJ; E: -šu!-gar!.

27. So A, Q, V, X and probably B, T, CC and JJ; E: -ru!; P: [m]aḫ!.

28. So A, V, X and probably B, P, T and most probably JJ; E: ur!-, -galam!-du$_{11}$!-; Q: -galam!-.

29. So A, E, V, X and most probably P and JJ; B: [g]i-kid<-zu>, [x] -ur!-zu? for gis-ur-se; Q: -ur-se!, also it omits the -na of za-gìn-na; T also seems to omit the-na.

30. a) B, E, Q, T, X, JJ and probably V: nir-gam-ma-zu; A: -bi for -zu.

b) A, B, E, P and Q: gu$_4$ si-gùr-ru (E: gu$_4$!); G: am si-gùr-ru; V, X and probably JJ: am si im-gùr-ru.

31. So A, E and most probably B, G, P, Q, T, V, X and LL.

32. So LL and most probably A, B, E (:-DUL!DU), G, P, Q (: -dib!-, pìrig!). T and JJ.

33. So E, H, Q (: abzu!), LL and most probably A, B, G and JJ; E: inserts -àm- between -te- and -gál.

34. So H (:-engur!), and probably A, G, P and JJ. Texts B and E omit the infix -in- from the verb phrase.LL: -du$_{11}$ for -du. Q: -engur!-, -zu!.

35. So A, B, E, H, Q (: -abzu!-), JJ, LL and most probably G, P, X, Y and DD.

36. So A (collated), E, P and U (: -sá!), JJ and LL; B: -si-ig for -sá; G: -sìg for -sá.

37. a) E, X, JJ and LL: KA x LI-KA x LI; P: KA x LI!-KA x LI!; A and Q: KA x ŠE-KA x ŠE for the just mentioned reduplicated sign; B: KA x MI!-KA x MI!; H: KA x EŠ-KA x EŠ.

b) A (collated), B, G and LL: za-gìn-na mí im-ma-ri-in-du$_{11}$; E: -ri-d[u] for -ri-in-du$_{11}$; H, P and JJ: -du for -du$_{11}$; Q-di for -du$_{11}$, DD: <mí> im-ma-ni- for im-ma-ri-; Y and LL: na$_4$-za-gìn-na.

38. a) A, B, H, X, Y, LL, OO and most probably JJ: é-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$;E:-ka for -ke$_4$; Q: -ga for -ke$_4$.

b) A, B, G, X, JJ, LL, OO and most probably H and U: làl-ḫar-ra; Y and DD omit the -ra; E: làl-E, P: làl-[ ].

c) A, B, E, G, X, Y, DD, LL and OO: kù-kur$_7$-aka; H: -ak-e; P: -[k]ur$_7$!-aka!; U: ḳu!-kur$_7$<-aka>.

39. a) A, B, H, U, X, Y, LL, OO and most probably T and JJ: gu$_4$ lugal-bi-ir; E:[lu]gal!-; P: -ir!; Q: lu[gal!]-.

b) P, U, X, DD, JJ, LL and OO: ús-a si-ga; A: ús!-, and not -gin$_x$ (collated); B: adds -àm after the -ga; E: judging from the traces it seems to have [u]ṣ-ṣạ-ṇị! sị-[ ]; G seems to have ús-a-ni si-g[a- (x)]; H: -ge for -ga; Y ús-sa for ús-a.

40. a) A, B, Y and probably T: ní-bi-šè ur$_5$-ša$_4$; E: -bi! and probably seems to omit the -šè; H also omits the -šè; P: ur$_5$! im-[ša$_4$]; U: -šu for -šè (seemingly, on the principle of vowel harmony); T: -š[è!]; JJ, LL and OO: ur$_5$ im-ša$_4$ for ur$_5$-ša$_4$.

b) A and Y: téš-bi-šè ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$; B omits the -šè; E: -bi!-ṣ̌ẹ̀ [ ]; G: tẹ́ṣ̌!-, also omits the -šè; H omits the -šè as well; P, DD, LL and OO also omit the -šè; U: -bi-a-šè!.

41. a) A, B, E, Y, JJ, LL, OO, probably F, I, P and T: é-engur-ra ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$; H: -engur!-.

b) A, B and probably F: gi-dub-ba-an-kù; H: [(x)]-dub-ba!-kù; I, P, T, Y, DD, JJ, LL and OO omit the gi-.

c) A and B: lá-àm; H: lá!-a; I, P, Y, JJ, LL and OO: -a for -àm; DD: -a!.

42. So A, B, Y, JJ, LL, OO and probably F, H, T and DD. E: šà-kù-ẓụ for šà-zu-ta, bára!-; G: šà!-zu-uṃ!?-ta bára!-; P: šà!-; DD: -gar-ra-àm.

43. a) A, B, E, P, T, Y, JJ, LL, OO and probably DD (broken): za-du$_8$-zu; H: ẓa<-du$_8$>-zu-ta; I: -du$_8$!-zu!;

b) A, T, Y, JJ, OO: á-múš-kù-an-na; B: -múš!-; E: -mùš (copied as RI, possibly -múš!-); H: á<-múš?>-kù-; I: á!-mùs-kù!-.

44. So A, E, I, Y, JJ, LL, OO and probably P, T and DD.

45. a) A, E, I, J (collated), Y, JJ, LL and OO: en-geštú-ga; P: [gešt]ú!-ga; B and H omit the -ga.

b) A (collated), B, H, I, Y, LL and probably E, J, DD and JJ: lugal ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$; P: -ki!-; R: ^{d}]ẹṇ!-; OO: -ke$_4$!(probably written over an erasure of -ka).

c) It is to be noted that H is the only text which inserts the following line between lines 45 and 46. This line reads as follows: [^{d}en]-ḳi en nam-tar-tar-re-dè.

46. So A (collated), B, H, J, LL, OO and probably E, R, DD and JJ; I omits the -ga-; P: -ke$_4$!.

47. a) A, B, I, J, LL, OO and probably E, H, P, Y and JJ: šà-šeg$_9$-bar-ra; R: [x še]g$_9$<-bar>zụ?; E seems to have : šà-šeg$_9$-[bar^{9}-re]-ẹ.

b) A, J, R, LL and OO: lú igi nu-bar-re-dam; B: -dam?; E: -re!-ḍẹ̀; I: <nu->bar-re-dam; Y and DD: -dè for -dam; JJ: -da for -dam.

48. A, Y, LL and probably H, R, DD and JJ: abgal-zu sig$_7$-bar-ra bí-in-du$_8$; B I and J (collated): síg-(in I copy: gál?) for sig$_7$-; E: -bạṛ!-; P: preserves only sig$_7$!.

49. So A, J, Y, LL, probably P, R, DD and most probably B,K,L, and JJ; H: -ga-ni. Texts E and I omit this line.

50. a) A, B, E, H, I, JJ and probably LL: é-engur-ra; J: é-engur! -.

b) A (collated) and H: šà ḫé-gál šù-ga; E: -gál-la and -ga-àṃ; I: -gál-la šù!-[g]a-àm; J: -gál-[l]a šù-ga; JJ: -gál-la šù-ga! (written over an erasure of NE).

51. So A, H, J, and probably B, K, L and FF; E and I: -ka for -ke$_4$; LL: -kam for -ke$_4$; R: [^{d}]e[n!]- ki!-.

52. So A, H, Y and probably B, K, L, FF and GG; E: ẓạ̀-g̣ạ! ; I: dù!-; R: -galam!-.

53. So A, Y and probably B, K, L, R, FF, LL and GG. The traces in E are mostly illegible. Nevertheless, the sign at the very beginning is most probably NUN! and that at the very end is a fairly readable lá. The expected <-a> following the lá, might have originally been on the tablet, but if so, the copist omitted it. Text H: -zu!; I: ab!-šà <-ga> ; J: there are traces of an erased -zu following gissu-zu.

54. So A (collated), J and most probably B, K, L, R, Y and GG; H: -ab-ba!-; FF: the traces following the a-ab-ba! are illegible. Note that both text E and I omit this line.

55. So A, J and probably B, C, E, K, L, R, Y, FF and GG; H: [n]ị́!-; I: -gál!-la! su-kalam-ma! zi!-zi!.

56. So A, I and probably C (collated), E (: urú!-), K and R; B, J, Y, GG and probably L: u$_x$ (=ULÙ)-ru-for urú-; FF: uru$_x$ (=URU x A)-for urú-; H: é!- (copied as GIŠ).

57. So A, I, FF and probably B, C, H, K, L, R and Y; E: -engur$^{!}$-; J: e$^{!}$ (copied as GIŠ).

58. a) A, J, Y and probably B, C and QQ: é-maḫ-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$; E: e$^{!}$-; C: -maḫ$^{!}$; K: -ke$_4^{!}$; E, I: -ka for ke$_4$ (H: -ka$^{!}$); FF: -ga$^{!}$ for ke$_4$.

b) A, I (:geštú$^{!}$), Y and probably C, FF and QQ: geštú kalam-e sum-mu; B: omits the kalam-e; E: geštú kalam- e$^{!}$ x̣$^{?}$ [su]m-mu, the traces of the sign which follows the -e$^{!}$ must be, taking into consideration all the variants, an erasure since no other text has any sign between -e and sum-; R; inserts -mu- between kalam- and -e.

59. a) A, J (collated) probably I and QQ: akkil (=GADA.KÍD.SI)-zu; C and Y: akkil (=GADA.KÍD.SI.A) -zu; E: a-akkil (=GADA.KÍD<SI>) -zu$^{!}$; H preserves -bi for zu; the traces in L are illegible; FF: a-akkil (=a-GADA.KÍD.SI) -zu.

b) A, H, J, Y and probably B, C, FF and QQ: i$_7$-maḫ-zi-ga-gin$_x$; E and I:IM-maḫ-, for i$_7$-maḫ-; E-gịṇ$_x^{!}$; R:-gin$_x^{!}$ (copied as-ke$^{?}_4$).

60. a) A, E, J, Y, NN and probably B, C, H, KK and QQ: lugal ^{d}en-ki-ra; I: [luga]l$^{!}$ FF: ^{d}en-ki-ga$^{!?}$ for ^{d}en-ki-ra.

b) A(collated), B and J: mu-un-na-du$_{12}$-àm; E, H, I, R and probably NN: -a for -àm; FF and QQ: mu-na-du$_{12}$-àm; Y: mu-na-du$_{12}$-a; C: mu-na-du$_{12}$ - [...].

61. a) A, B, E, EE, NN and probably C, I and KK: é-kù-ga-ni-šè; J: -kù$^{!}$-; Y: inserts -a- between -ga- and -ni.

b) A, J, Y, NN and probably C (collated): du$_{10}$-bi mu-un-gá-gá; B: adds -šè after -bi; EE: du$_{10}$-ba (for-bi) x̣ mu-gá-gá.

E and I: du$_{10}$-bi;! mu-gá-gá. Note that this line is omitted entirely in text H.

62. a) A, B, S, E, I, J, Y, FF and NN (:-mí!, written as SAL x ŠÚ): $^{\text{giš}}$zà-mí.

b) A: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-balag-sur$_{x}$(ÙZ.BẠḶẠG)-za (texts E and I: -sur$_{x}$!-).

B: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-zu-balag-sur$_{x}$(=GIŠ.ÙZ!.BALAG!)-da.

C: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-giš-balag!-giš-al-[ ].

H: [a]l-gar-zu!-balag! - giš-al-gar-sur$_{x}$-ra-ṭa.

J: gi[š al-ga]r-balag-giš-al/gar-sur$_{x}$-da.

FF: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-balag-sur$_{x}$-da

NN: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-balag-giš-al-gar-sur$_{x}$-da.

63. a) A, B, C, E, I, Y, FF and NN: $^{\text{giš}}$ḫar-ḫar.

b) B, C, J, NN and probably KK: $^{\text{giš}}$sa-bí-tum; A, E, I, Y, FF and NN: -bi- for -bí-; H: -PI- for -bí-.

c) A, B, E, I, J, Y, NN and probably C, H and FF: $^{\text{giš}}$ i-rí-tum.

d) A (collated), H, I, J, Y, NN and probably E and FF: é si-ga. It is to be noted that SAG (text B) copied by Gadd, is most probably miscopied é si-. The copy, however, needs further collation.

H: ṣi-ig-ga for si-ga.

64. a) A, B, C, E, J, Y, FF and NN: ad-du$_{10}$-ga; I: ad!-

b) J (collated) NN and probably C: nundum (= KA x NUN) búr-re balag-gá; FF and KK: -re!; A: búr-e for búr-re; B, E, and I omit the -re; Y: omits the búr-re and reduplicates the nundum; KK: -zu$^{?}$ for -gá. It is to be noted that the traces which preceed the balag-gá in H are illegible.

65. a) A and C: šà-ní-ba-ka; E, I, J (:šà-copied as LU$^{?}$, Y, FF and probably H: - ke$_4$ for -ka; B and G add - eš after the -ke$_4$.

b) A, B, J, Y and KK: ad ḫa-ba-ni-ib-ša$_4$; B: - ša$^{!}_4$; E and I: -íb- for -ib-; H: -ba$^{!}$ (copy: PA$^{?}$) -ni$^{!}$-; FF: ḫé-em-mi-ib-, for ḫa-ba-ni-ib-; NN: -ni-in, for ni-ib-.

66. a) A, B, C, J, Y, GG, NN and probably G: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-kù-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$; E and I: -ka for ke$_4$.

b) A, E and I: ní-ba mu-un-na-du$_{12}$; B: ni-bí-a mu-na-am-du$_{12}$;

C, G, and Y: -na-an- for -un-na-; NN: inserts -an- between -na- and du$_{12}$; H: preserves only ní-bi (for -ba) mu-[ ].

67. a) C and possibly A: tigi-imin-e; B, E, H, Y and NN: nar-imin-e.

b) A and C (collated) G, Y, KK and NN: ad ḫé-em-mi-ib-ša$_4$; B (copy): ḫé$^{!}$-; E and I: -íb- for -ib-; E and H omit the ḫé-.

68. a) C, H, NN and probably A and G: du$_{11}$-ga-^{d}-en-ki-ke$_4$; B: KA-ma$^{!}$ (copy needs further collation); E and I: - ka for ke$_4$. The traces at the beginning of this line in I are illegible. Furthermore, the space given for the broken and the damaged signs would embrace more than two signs, therefore the copy seems to be inaccurate and needs further collation. Text KK: [-^{d}en-ki] -ga (for ke$_4$).

b) A, B, C, G, J, KK and NN: šu nu-bal-e-dè; E and I -dam for -dè.

69. So B; A (collated): [ ] ki̤-bi̤-šè gál-la-àm.

70. So a only.

71. So a (collated), B: -ka for ke$_4$.

72. So A, B, C, E, G, I, J (collated), NN and probably R$_1$ and KK;

H: -du- for -dù- (in both parts of the line).

73. a) A, B, H, J, NN and probably K and R$_1$: eridu^{ki} ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$; E and I: -ka for -ke$_4$; KK, on the other hand, seems to have -ga for -ke$_4$.

b) A, J (collated), KK, NN and probably H: im-ma-an-íl-la-ba; B: im-ma-ni-in- for in-ma-an-; E and I, insert -a- between -la- and -ba; B: -a- for -la-; R$_1$: ~~omits the~~ -ma-. Note that this line is entirely omitted in G (collated).

74. a) A and probably E and G: ḫur-sag-galam-kad$_5$-dam; B: -KUR-kad!?-gin$_x$ for -galam-kad$_5$-dam; H: -AKA-dè for kad$_5$-dam; I and K: -kad$_5$!-; J and NN: -e for -dam; R$_1$ and NN: -galam!-.

b) A, B, KK, NN and probably K and R$_1$: a-e ba-diri (=SI.A); E: bạ!-; H: inserts -an- between ba- and -diri; H: a-e! -SI!A; J: a-e!.

75. So A, J (collated), NN and probably G, H, K, L and KK; E: -ni!; B: adds -a after -ni and omits the -a from the giš-gi; I: - LU? for -ku. Note that in text G there are traces of an erased sign (probably giš) between the -ni and giš- (collated).

76. a) A, B, E, H, I, J (collated), R$_1$ and probably G, K. L, W, KK (mostly broken) and NN: kiri$_6$-sa$_7$-ga.

b) A, E, G (collated), I (copy -la!-) and probably KK: gurun íl-la-a-ba; B: omits the -la-; NN: omits the -a-; H, K and R$_1$ preserve only gurun íl-[ ].

77. So A, B (:haš$_4$!-), I, J, and probably G, H, K, L, W and NN; R$_1$: [mušen]-e gi$_6$ haš$_4$-bi mu-uṇ-[gá-gá].

78. a) A, B, J (collated), L and probably R_1 and W: suḫur^{kua}-e; E, H and I: omit the -e.

b) A: ú-làl-e e-ne mu-un-na-è; B, E and I (:mụ!-): omit the -na-; G (collated), J(:-e!, collated) :-e for -e and also omit the -na-; R_1: the -e after -làl- is omitted.

79. a) Z, probably B and R_1: gud^{kua}-e; E, H, I, J and L omit the -e; A: gu$_4$-ud^{kua}.

b) A, B, G, H and probably E, I, L, R_1 and NN: gi-zi-di$_4$-di$_4$-lá; J: giš-gi-.

c) A and probably G: kun mu-un-na-sud-e; B has an inexplicable AN after the -lá, which is followed by a break; E and I: -sud! (copied as GÍD)-; J(collated): mu!(written over an erasure) -na- sud! (written as GÍD)-e. Although the traces of the verb copied in R_1, point to the sign DU, they in my idea, however, should be read as ṣụ[d-e].

80. a) A and I: ^{d}en-ki zi-ga-na; G, H, J, R_1, Z, OO and PP: -ni for -na.

b) A, J (both are collated) and probably H and Z: kua i-zi-éš na-zi; G (collated) and most probably R_1: kua izi-éš na-zi; I: kua izi-[éš] na-an-zi; PP: omit the -éš, i.e.: kua i-zi na-zi.

81. a) A, B, I, J, MM and probably R_1 (:-e!) and PP: abzu-e; H: -a for -e; Z: omits the -e.

b) A, J (:[IGI].É -e, collated), PP and probably AA and R_1: u$_6$ (=IGI.É)-e àm-ma-gub. In B, the traces of the signs following the ụ$_6$-ẹ are mostly broken. However, there is a bare possibility of [na]m-m[a]. I: nam-ma-[(x)]-gub for àm-ma-gub; H and Z preserve only u$_6$-e [ ]; MM: preserve I[GI]. Note that this line is omitted in E.

82. a) A, E, H, I, J, W, Z, AA and most probably PP: é-engur-ra; B: omits the -ra.

b) A, AA, PP and probably I, J, and Z: ḫúl-la mu-ni-ib-túm; B: adds -àm to ḫúl-la; E and R$_1$: -íb- for -ib-; R$_1$: ḫúl!-

83. a) B and H: a-ab-ba-gin$_x$; A, E (:a!-), I, Z, AA, MM and R$_1$, PP (both are partly broken): -ka for -gin$_x$.

b) A, J, AA and probably B, H and R$_1$: ní mu-un-da-gál; E and I omit the -un-; Z and PP: mu-da-an- for mu-un-da-.

84. a) H: i$_7$-maḫ-gin$_x$; A: -e for -gin$_x$; B: -àm for -gin$_x$; Z, AA, MM and R$_1$: -a for -gin$_x$; E: omits the -gin$_x$; J (collated): i$_7$[x xs]u-.

b) A, AA and probably B and R$_1$ (:ṣụ!): su-zi mu-un-da-ri; E and Z: omit the -un-; J and PP: mu-da-an- for mu-un-da-.

85. a) A, E, I, R$_1$, Z, AA and probably J (:-šúr!, collated), PP (also -šúr!): ^{i7}buranun-na u$_x$-lu-šúr; B and H: tu$_{15}$(=IM)-u$_x$-.

b) A, I and AA: mu-un-da-an-zi; Z, PP and probably B: omit the -un-; J: ⟨mu-⟩ da-an-zi.

86. a) A, B, H and probably R$_1$, R$_2$, MM and PP: giš-gi-muš-a-ni; J (collated), W and Z omit the giš-.

b) A, J, R$_1$, R$_2$, PP and probably H: ^{d}MUŠ-a-ni; B: muš-^{d}MUŠ-a-ni; M (partly broken, collated), Z and AA: im-du-du-a-ni for ^{d}MUŠ-a-ni.

87. a) A, B, Z and probably M (collated), AA, MM and R$_1$: gis-gissal (=BI.IZ)-a-ni; H: -BI!.IZ!-; W: gis!-[ ] ; R$_2$: gis!

(copy: GA)-BI$^{!}$(copy: GA).IZ)-.

b) A, Z, and AA: gi-tur-tur-a-ni; B, R$_2$ (: gi$^{!}$(copy: GA) and PP: -ra- for -a-. It is to be noted, however, that for the expected gi- in text B we have instead an inexplicable sign. This text as well as text H (where the unexpected KI IB followed by a break comes right after the gis-gissal$^{!}$-a.ni) needs, undoubtedly, further collation. Text R$_1$ preserves only gi-tu[r].

88. a) A, B, H, R$_2$, Z and probably M, W, AA, MM and PP: ^{d}en-ki u$_5$-a-ni.

b) A and B: mu ḫé-gál su-ga; R$_2$ and Z: add -àm after the -ga; AA and PP: add -la after -gál. The verb phrase in H, M, W (mostly broken), AA and MM (half of the line is damaged), is broken away.

89. a) A, H and probably B, M and AA: ^{giš}má.ní-bi nam-du$_8$; R$_2$: omits the determinative giš-; Z and MM: -ba for -bi; Z: -KU for -du$_8$.

b) A, B (: éš$^{!}$ copied as ŠU, the copy needs further collation) and R$_2$ (:éš$^{!}$): éš ní-bi nam-KU; H: GIŠ for éš; this text as well as M, are broken at the end. A: -ba for -bi, also it switches -du$_8$ for -KU. Note that this part is mutilated in AA and MM.

90. a) A and R$_2$: é-eridu^{ki}-ga-ke$_4$; H: -ke$_4^{!}$ (needs further collation); B, M (collated) and Z: -šè for -ke$_4$.

b) A, R$_2$ and probably B, H (: im$^{!}$-) and M: im-ma-kar-ra; Z: um-ma-kar-re; PP: um- for im-.

91. a) A: i$_7$-dè lugal-bi-ir; B, Z and probably H: -da for -dè; H: lugal$^{!}$-; PP: preserves: [-b]i-ir and L: i$_7$-[ ].

b) A, B, Z, PP and probably H: ad im-mi-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$. Note that this line is omitted in M.

92. So A, B, Z and probably H, M and MM; PP: -du$_{10}$-ga! (inscribed as bi)-ka for -du$_{10}$-ga-ke$_4$; N is mostly broken.

93. a) A, B, II and probably H (:-GAZ!-) and M: ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ gu$_4$ im-ma-ab-gaz-e; N: gu$_4$! [ ]; Z: omits the -e; PP: -an- for -ab-.

b) A, B, Z and II: udu im-ma-ab-šár-re; PP: -an-šár for -ab-šár-re. This part of the line is broken away in H, M, N (only udu is preserved, followed by unreadable traces) and MM.

94. a) A, B, Z, II and probably M, N (:-gál! [ ]) and PP: ^{kuš}á-lá nu-gál-la; H: omits the -la; MM: the only preserved part of the line is: [^{kuš}]á-lá[ ].

b) A, Z, II and PP: ki-bi-šè sá im-du$_{11}$; B: bí-in-gi$_4$ for sá im-du$_{11}$. This part is partly damaged in H and M, and entirely in N and MM.

95. a) A, B, II and probably M, N (:ÁB! x?), Z and PP: ùb (=ÁB x KÁRA)^{zabar} nu-gál-la, H: [x] ÁBx?^{zabar}.

b) A, B, II, PP (-in!-): ki-bi-šè im-mi-in-è; Z: sá im-mi-[in-du$_{11}$] for the verb phrase.

96. So A, B (:-ni!), Z, II and probably H, M , N (:-šè!, copy :-BA) and PP (the beginning of the line is broken).

97. a) A and probably Z: gi-gun$_4$-na-èš-e-nibru^{ki}-a; H, M (collated), N and II: omit the -e- (this perhaps point to the reading -èš = eše$_x$, see also the commentary to this line). Text N, moreover, adds the determinative -ki to gi-gun$_4$ and omits the -na. II has -ka for -a.

b) B, II and probably A (:-ku$_4$!-ku$_4$!), H and M: im-ma-da-an-ku$_4$-ku$_4$; Z: mu-da- for im-ma-da-.

98. a) A, H, II and probably M and Z: ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ kaš-kaš-e ba-te; B: -dé for -te.

b) A and Z: kurún-kurún-e ba-te; B: -dé for -te; H: ^{kaš}kurún-kurún-[ ]; II: ^{kaš}kurún-$^{[ka]š}$kurún-e; KK: inserts -an- between ba-, and -te.

99. a) A, B and Z: kurún; H and II: ^{kaš}kurún.

b) A, B (omits the -ra) and probably M: gi-zabar-ra; Z: gal- for gi-; II: gi$_4$-, for gi; KK (broken at the beginning): -a for -ra.

c) A, B, Z, II and KK: ba-ni-in-dé; H: ba-ni!-[x x]; M: ba! (copied as PA)-.

100. a) Z, II, B (copy: .ÁŠ!.) and H (copy: .ÁŠ!.): ulušin (=KAŠ.ÁŠ.AN); A (collated): omit the .AN.

b) A and B: aš-àm; H and II: a-aš-a; M: aš-a; Z: a-aš-àm.

c) A, B, M (collated), Z, II, KK and probably H: ba-ni-in-sur.

101. a) A, B, H and probably II: ^{dug}ku-kur-rú; Z: ^{dug}ku-kur! (written over an erasure) -rú! (also written over an erasure).

b) A, B, H (kaš!-), M, Z, II and probably KK: kaš-du$_{10}$du$_{10}$ga.

c) A, H (the verb phrase is broken away), M, II (omits the -in-) and KK: duḫ-bi bi-in-sá-sá; B and Z: duḫ-ba for duḫ-bi.

102. a) A, B, H (omits the -ma), Z and probably M, II and KK: ka-bé làl-zú-lum-ma.

b) A: ni-ir$_9$ (=GÌR) ba-ni-in-ak; Z, II and KK: nì(=NÍG)- for

ní (=IM)-; B: nì-ir$_9$ ba-ni-in-dé (for -ak); H: nì-[ ];
M: nì-ịṛ$_9$[ ].

103. a) A: duḫ-bi nì-làl-làl; B: nì-lu-lu for nì-làl-làl; M (collated) [nì]-làl-la-a; Z and most probably KK: nì-làl-la.

b) A: aš-a; B: omits the -a, M, Z and KK: omit the aš-a.

c) A: še$_x$ (=MÙŠ.DI)-šè and so M; B (copy is inaccurate: MÙŠ is copied as NUN$^?$): še$_x^!$-e; Z, II and KK še$_x^!$ (:.DI$^!$, is written as KI) -šè.

d) A, B and M: bí-in-du$_8$; Z, II and KK: -du$_{11}$ for du$_8$.

104. A and B: ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ èš$^!$ (copy: AD)-e nibru^{ki}-àm; M (collated), Z, II and KK (-a$^!$): -a for -àm.

105. So A, B, Z and probably W; M: [^{d}en]-ḷíl-lá for ^{d}en-líl-ra.

106. A and M (the beginning is broken): an ki-maḫ-a im-ma-an-tuš; B and Z: -àm for -a; W and II preserve only the verb phrase.

107. So A, B (the infix -ni- in the verb phrase is copied as DÙ$^?$), M, W and II (the beginning of the line is broken); Z: omits the infix -ma-.

108. So A, Z, most probably II and probably M and W; B: im-ma-an-tuš for im-mi-in-tuš.

109. a) A and probably B, M and W: ^{d}a-nun-na ki-ús-ki-ús-bi; II adds -šè after -bi.

b) B, II and probably M and W: im-mi-in-dúr-ru-ne-eš; A: adds ši- before im-.

110. a) A: lú-e-ne; II: lú-ù-ne.

b) II: ì-na$_x$-na$_x$-ne; A: e-na$_x$-na$_x$-e; M: im-na$_x$-na$_x$-ne; B and W (both are broken at the beginning): [-n]a$_x$-na$_x$-e.

c) II: $^{\text{kaš}}$kurún im-du$_{10}$-ge-ne; B (copy needs collation) seems to have kurún (kaš- is omitted) íb!-du$_{10}$!-ge-eš; M (collated): [i]m-du$_{10}$-ge-ne; A (collated): kurún nì-du$_{10}$-ge-ne; W: [ ]i-im-[du$_{10}$]-ge-ne.

111. a) A (collated), O and II: zabar-MIR; V, W (rev. II 8) and EE (are damaged at the beginning) preserve [-M]IR.

b) A: im-gur$_4$-gur$_4$-re-e-ne; B, V and W: drop the -re-; M, O, S and II: omit the -e-.

112. a) A and most probably EE: zabar-e; O: -a for -e; O (collated): omits the -e.

b) A: $^{\text{d}}$uraš-e a-da-man mu-un-è-ne; B: [a-d]a-man im-di-e-ne; M (collated): [ura]š-a a-da-man mu!-ụn-ḍị-ṇe; O (collated): uraš-a a-da-man im-dè-e-ne; S: [ ]a-da-man mu-un-[x]-ne; W: [u]raš-e a-da-man mu-u[n]; EE: uraš-e a-da-man mu-[ ].

113. a) A, EE and MM: ti-lim-da; O: adds the determinative dug- at the beginning.

b) A (collated), M, O, S, W and EE: má-gur$_8$-kù.

c) A: im-ba-ba-re-e-ne

B: [im]-mir-mir-e-ne

O: im-bi-bi!-re-ne

EE and most probably M and W: im-kár-kár-re-ne.

114. a) A, EE and MM(:ba!-): kaš ba-du$_{11}$

b) A: GEŠTIN.KAŠ du$_{10}$-ga-ta; B, M, O (collated) and S (the beginning in all is broken): du$_{10}$-ga-ta; W: ^{kaš}kurún ba-du$_{10}$-ga-ta; EE: (also broken) kurún ba-du$_{10}$-ga-ta.

115. a) A (collated) and probably M, O, S, W (the beginning is broken): é-ta gìri-bi-a.

b) A, O, S, EE and probably B and M: ba-ra-gar-ra-ta; W: ba-ra-a-ta.

116. a) A, EE and probably M and MM: ^{d}en-líl nibru^{ki}-a.

b) W, EE and probably A, M and O: ḫúl-la mu-ni-ib-túm; B seems to have -ạ for -la.

117. a) A, EE, HH and MM: ^{d}en-líl-le.

b) A (collated), and probably B, M and HH: ^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_{4}$-ne; W and EE add NI after the -ne; EE: there are traces of an illegible sign inserted between -na and -ke$_{4}$.

c) B, EE and probably A and W: gù mu-na-dé-e.

118. a) A: dingir-gal-gal-la; EE, HH and probably MM omit the -la.

b) EE(:-en$^{!}$-) and probably W and HH: ì-su$_{8}$-ge-en-za-na; A (collated): omits the -en-; B(:i$^{!}$-): -es- for -en-; PP: preserves only -na.

119. a) A, EE, HH and MM: ^{d}a-nun-na.

b) A: ub-šu-unken-na-ka; EE: -ke$_{4}$ for -ka. Note that this text has an illegible sign followed by -ka immediately after the -ke$_{4}$. HH: omits the -šu-; B: preserves only [n]a-ka.

c) EE: si mu-un-sá-sá-e-en$^{!}$-za-na

A : si mi-ni-ib-si-sá-e-eṇ-[za-na]

B : si bí-in-sá-NE-en

PP: si in-sá-sá-e-za-na

HH: si [ ]

120. So A, EE and probably B (damaged at the beginning), N (mostly damaged), HH, MM (partly damaged), PP (damaged at the beginning) and RR (mostly damaged).

121. a) A (: ḫur$^!$, inscribed as KI, collated), N, EE and most probably HH, MM and RR: eridu^{ki} ḫur-sag-gin$_x$.

b) A, EE and HH: ki-ta ba-ra-ri; B and N insert -an- between -ra- and -ri; PP: -è for -ri.

122. a) N, EE and probably A, MM and RR(: ki$^!$-, copied as ŠU): ki-du$_{10}$-ga-àm.

b) A, B, N, PP and probably EE: é im-ma-an-dù; HH: omits the -ma-.

123. a) EE and probably A, HH, MM and RR: eridu^{ki} ki-sikil; N: ki⟨-sikil⟩.

b) A, HH, PP and probably EE: lú nu-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-da; B: -dè for -da. It is to be noted that the shaded place between the second -ku$_4$- and the -dè, in text B, taking into consideration all the variants, does not point out a damaged sign. Text N has -dam for -da.

124. a) A(: é is broken), N and probably MM, PP and RR: é kù-ga dù-a.

b) A and PP: za-gìn-na gùn (DAR)-na; B, N and HH: add the determinative na$_4$- before the za-.

125. a) N(: -a for -e), A and probably MM and RR (mostly damaged) and PP: é tigi-imin-e si-sá-e.

b) A, B, PP and probably HH: nam-šub sum-ma; N: inserts -GIŠ- between nam- and -šub.

126. a) A (collated) and most probably PP: šìr-kù téš; N: omits the téš and adds instead ⟨zi-⟩dè-eš.

b) A, B, HH and probably NN: é ki al-du$_{10}$-ga; N: -ge for -ga; PP: adds -àm after the -ga.

127. So A, N (: èš- is broken) and probably B, HH, NN and PP.

128. So A and most probably N, HH, NN and PP; B: omits the -ba of dù-a-ba.

129. Although PP is the only text which preserves the a-a, it incorporates this line together with line 128, and considering the colophon in text A, which states that the total number of lines of our text is 129, (i.e. NIGIN: 2 X šu-ši (= 60) + 9). a-a-^{d}en-ki zà-mí which is fully preserved in PP must be considered our last line.

4. ADDENDA

After all texts utilized for the reconstruction of this composition had been assembled, and the manuscript had been typed, a new text was discovered in the Istanbul collection. This text copied by S. N. Kramer, brings the total number of the unpublished texts to 27. The text (Ni 4588) contains parts of lines 1-14 (obv.,) and lines 28-31 (rev.,) of our composition:

Obverse:

1. [ ] ṇạṃ!1) ba-ṭạṛ!-[ ]
2. [ ] an ù-tu-dạ
3. [ ]-ṣ̌im-gin$_x$ kị-in-ḍạr-r[a]
4. [ ] lugal ^{d}eṇ-ki-ḳe$_4$
5. [e]n nam-ṭar-ṭar-re-dẹ̀
6. [ ] ḳù zạ-gìn téš-bi ba-ni-[ ]
7. [ ]-ḅi u$_4$ kár-kára-ḳa
8. [ ]-a ul im-ma-ạṇ!2)-túmu
9. [ ]-du$_{11}$-g̣ạ!3) abzu-ṭạ!4) ẹ̀-a

---

1) Copy has MU?.

2) Copy has traces of NI?.

3) Copy has traces of ḪA?.

4) Copy has traces of UR?/IB?.

10. [ ]-mud-ra$^{!}$ mu-na-su$_{8}^{!5)}$-su$_{8}^{!5)}$-ge-[ ]

11. [ ]-ṇi-in-ḍụ̀ na$_{4}$-za-gìn-na [ ]

12. [ ]-g̣ẹ šu$^{!6)}$-tag ba-ni-in-d[u$_{11}$]

13. [ ] ḅí-in-dù

14. .... traces are illegible ....

Reverse:

28. [ ] x̣ x̣ x̣-ge

29. [ ]-g̣ìn-ṇạ$^{!}$ giš-ụ̀ṛ$^{!}$-[šè] g̣ụ̀ṇ-a

30. [ ]-ẓụ gu$_{4}^{!}$ ṣị-gụ̀ṛ-ru

31. [ma]ḫ ḷụ́ [ ]

---

5) This reduplicated sign is copied as -DAG$^{?}$-DAG$^{?}$-.

6) Copy has A$^{?}$.

5. COMMENTARY

1. u$_4$-ri-a "in the days of yore," "in those remote days" etc. -ri- here serves as a demonstrative element denoting remote distances. Cf. *ŠL* 86, 31: ri — *ni-su-ú* "(sich) entfernen." For further discussion on this phrase (also with var. u$_4$-rí-a) see van Dijk, *Acta Or.* XXVIII p. 16ff; A. Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation) p. 122f; E. I. Gordon, *JCS* XII p. 48 note 28 to proverb 5.55. Cf. also S. N. Kramer, *ELA* line 5.

3. ki-in-dar= *nigiṣṣu* "cleft," "split," "crack," see *ŠL* 461, 101; E. Reiner, *Šurpu* VII 5-6: dù-dù ú-šim-gin$_x$ ki-a mu-un-d[ar] = *aḫ-ḫa-zu ki-ma ur-qí-ti er-ṣe-ta i-pe-ṣ[i]* "The *aḫḫazu* demon cleaves the ground like grass" (for *pêṣu* "split," see W. G. Lambert, *BWL* p. 291); *CAD* H 34^a s.v. *ḫalālu* A (= *CT* XVI 44, 102f): ki-in-dar-kur-ra-ke$_4$ gìṛ mu-un-gá-gá-a-meš = *ina nigiṣṣi erṣeti ittanaḫlallu* "They (the demons) are always creeping around in the clefts of the earth;" Th. Jacobsen, *JNES* V p. 135: ^{d}en-líl-šè kalam-ma-ni ki mu-un-ši-in-dar⟨-re⟩" (*And*) while (the people of) his land were breaking up through the ground (like plants) towards Enlil." For further discussion on ki-dar/ki-in-dar, see Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 32f note 5. Cf. also S. N. Kramer, *ELA* lines 14 and 56; *SLTNi* 80 VI 10: ḫé-gál ú-ṣ̌ịṃ-gin$_x$ ki-dar-ra giš-mu-[ ] Ni 9788 lines 1-2(:=*MNS* I p. 19; *Or.NS* XXII/2 Pl. XLVII lines 1-2 and the dupl. *TMHS NF* III 7 IV 169f):

lu-lu-a-bi lu-lu-a-bi ú-šim ki-daṛ-ṛe-dam

[illegible]-a ^{d}nanna lu-lu-a-bi ú-šim ki-dar-re-dam
"The numerous (cows,) are like herbs and plants, cleaving the ground,
The ... of Nanna, its numerous (cows,) are like herbs and plants, cleaving the ground;" C. Wilcke, *Das Lugal‿banda Epos*, line 83: kiši$_6$-gin$_x$ ki-in-dar-ra ba-an-di-di-ni-ib-ku$_4$-re-eš-àm.

6. The -na, in na$_4$-za-gìn-na, occurs only in texts B and D. The context, in fact, requires the locative -a i.e. "with lapis lazuli." For further discussion cf. A. Falkenstein, *GSGL* II p. 113f. Cf. also lines 12: guškin-ga šu-tag ba-ni-in-du$_{11}$; 21: é kù na$_4$-za-gìn-na ki-gar-ra.

For téš(= UR)-bi = *ištēniš* "altogether," " at the same time," see *CAD* I/J 279^{b}f s.v. *ištēniš*: UR-bi = *1-niš*, *mitḫāru*, téš-bi, dili-e-eš = *i[š-te-ni-iš]*; see also *AHw* 400^{b}f s.v. *ištē/īniš*; *ibid.*, 661^{b}f s.v. *mitḫāriš*.

7. kár-kár = *nabāṭu ša ūmi* "to shine," referring to the daylight, and *napāḫu* "to shine," "to illuminate," see *ŠL* 105 IIa 5-6; Falkenstein, *ZA NF* XVIII p. 72: u$_4$ kár-kár-a-ka and u$_4$ kár-kára-ka is also attested, cf. *UET* I 137 V 4-5: zi-pa-ág-gá-na u$_4$-gin$_x$ kár-kára-ka; *Lugale* XII 3: u$_4$-gin$_x$ kár-kára-ka (var. -kár-kár-ra-ke$_4$) = *kīma ūmi it-ta-na-an-bi-ṭu*. For the construction verb + gen.-ak + loc.-a, see van Dijk, *SGL* II p. 11 with note 2; add there *UMBS* V 26, 27: mu-na-an-bar-re-ja-ka. van Dijk, *op.cit.*, considers whether *UET* I 137 V 5: kár-kár-ka and *SRT* 11, 42 = 48: mùš-kár-kára-ka-da, have derived from -kár-kára-aka(-da), in connection with this, therefore, he quotes *HAV* 2, 27: igi-kára-aka$^?$-dè with

the variant: igi-kár-kára-dè in SRT 1, V 19 (: W. Ph. Römer, SKI p. 133 line 172.) The reading aka, moreover, is rather uncertain since both the traces of the sign in Radau's copy (HAV, loc.cit.) and the dupl., see Or.NS XXII Pl.XLV col. V 18, is hardly aka. For more references cf. ELA lines 443 and 450; BE XXXI 24, rev. II 9; S. N. Kramer, Sumer, IV/1 Pl. III: IM 50140b col. III 12-13: sag-gi$_6$-ga kár-kár; A. Falkenstein, ZA NF XIII p. 191 (: CT XV 28, 5): [am]aš-kù-ga u$_4$-gin$_x$ kár-kár-re-dè "The holy pen is shining like the day;" VAT 9205 obv. 26 (: A. Falkenstein, ZA NF XVIII p. 59): gi$_6$-ù-na kár-kára "(She who) illuminates the night" (said about Inanna); UMBS X/4 1 rev. II 27: u$_4$-gin$_x$ kár-kára-bi.

8. For ul = ul-ṣu, see Group Vocabulary III A p. 6; Nabnītu R 198, S^b II 97 (MSL III p. 138): ú-l[u] = UL = ul-ṣu; Erimḫuš I 191-193: lum = unnubu, ul = mi-nu-u, la ≐ la-lu-u, (for menû see malku = šarru V 89: mi-nú = ra-a-mu; VIII 94-95: mi-nu-u = la-lu-u = ni-iš i-ni; munnû = kunzubu. Cf. also malku = šarru VIII 30; RA XI p. 153; OBGT XI col. V ii: ul-gùr-ru = mi-nu-ú-tum, 12-13: ul-ti-a = ḫabṣūtum, ul-ti = ḫu-bu-ṣum). ul-ul = ri-ša-tum see RA XVI p. 202 rev. I 12, and now Å. Sjöberg, TH no. 6 commentary to line 81: ul-šár "to gladden," ul-šár-ra = rīšātu. In addition, cf. KAR 333 rev. 10f: [ki-ná-gi$_6$]-ù-na-ta ul nam-mi-íb-za [...] =[ina maj]āl mūši ul uḫaššaška; BiOr IX p. 89, 1: ul-la àm-mi-ib-za(var. -zi)= i-li-[iṣ], for elēṣu "to rejoice," see CAD E 88 s.v. elēṣu.

While texts A, E, P and JJ have ul im-ma-ni-in-DU, texts B, C and D, on the other hand, have ul im-ma-ni-in-dù. Cf. SRT ii, 32: [am]a-gal ^{d}nin-líl-ra ul mu-ni-in-túm "To Ninlil, the great mother, he (Ur-Nammu) brought joy." G. R. Castellino, *ZA NF* XVIII p. 109 translates ul mu-ni-in-túm by "he brought in joy;" cf. *SLTNi* 80, 14: é-gal-maḫa(=MAḪ)-ni-šè ul-la mi-[ni-in-D]U "To her (Ninsun's) lofty palace he (Šulgi) brought joy;" *CT* XV 15, 21(: A. Falkenstein, *SAHG* p. 82): lú-dumu-mu ul gin-na "mein Kind, das in (seiner) Lust dahingeht."

In line 25 of our text, ul-la (as in *SLTNi* 80, 14) is not to be understood as a locative. Therefore, to translate èš-e abzu-a ul im-ma-ni-in-dù (texts B, C, and D in line 8) as "The shrine Abzu which he (Enki) built with pleasure," should be written as: èš-e abzu ul-la im-ma-ni-in-dù. The variant dù for du, however, points to a reading du= tù. For ul-la in/with beauty cf. *Gud*. Cyl. B XVI, 18: é-kù an-na ul-la dú-ru-na-àm "The holy house is situated/ standing with beauty in heaven: *SRT* 9, 63 (=*TCL* XV 21, 42, Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 15, 42): ama-né ul-la mí na-mu-un-e "His (Suen's) mother speaks with joy (to him)."

Finally, in the phrase èš-e abzu-a [texts A, C, D, probably P, BB, FF with the variants: [èš]-e abzu (text B) and èš! abzu-a (text E)], the -e, is not to be understood as a locative, since we have already the locative -a. It is rather, as A. Falkenstein (see *GSGL* II p. 17 note 1) treats it as an aposition, cf. *ibid.*: èš(-e) uri^{ki} "Heiligtum Uri" (*UMBS* X/4 7, 5; 13 rev. 18 cited by Falkenstein). Cf. also Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 62 for èš-e, èš (or èše$_{x}$).

9. mùš = *tūšaru*, *mātu* and mùš = *zīmu* (*CAD* Z 119^{b} f s.v. *zīmu* 1.

"appearance") are seemingly two different words. Cf. the detailed commentary to line 23 in Å. Sjöberg's TH no. 1 especially for mùš = tūšaru. The construction: mùš-kù-galam-du$_{11}$-ga "(its) artfully-made shape," occurs also in line 28 of our text. It is to be noted however, that text P is the only text which has mùš-a-galam-. Although, it is a clear -a-, it may well be a miscopied -kù-.

10. su$_8$-su$_8$(g) = alāku ša ma'dūtim see ŠL 206a, 4. su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš ittanallaku "they march," "they go," see CAD A/1 302^a s.v. alāku. Note that the reference quoted by CAD (i.e. CT XVI 15) and erroneously read as: mu-un-súg-gi-eš, should be read as follows: igi ^{d}GÌR.UNU-gal ur-sag kala-ga ^{d}en-líl-lá-ke$_4$ mu-un-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš = ina maḫar ^{d}MIN qarrādu dan-nu (var. -ni) ša ^{d}Enlil ittanallaku šunu "They march before Nergal, the mighty warrior of Enlil." For further occurrences, cf. A. Falkenstein, ZANF XVI p. 66, 46; Römer, SKI p. 129, 30 and 133, 159; UMBS X/2 2, 26-27.

11. For the reading gùn (=DAR) "to decorate," "to paint," "to cover with paint," see A. Falkenstein, ZANF X p. 4ff. See also, idem., GSGL II p. 13 note 7; Salonen, Türen p. 134. As an adjective, gùn is attested also, see CAD B 331^b f. s.v. burrumu "multicolored," "pied," "speckled;" AHw 140 s.v. burrumu: ŠL 114, 5d; cf. also line 29 of our text.

12. For gal-le-eš "grandly," see Å. Sjöberg, MNS I p. 32 commentary to line 60. For the translation of šu-tag = zânu "to overlay," "to plate with precious metal," "to decorate," to embellish," See CAD Z 47 s.v. zânu. See also A. Falkenstein GSGL I p. 128: šu-tag-du$_{11}$, "bestreichen," "überziehen," ibid. II p. 114

note 1; *Gud*. Cyl. A XXVII 9, XXVIII 2: šu-tag ba-ni-du$_{11}$; *ŠL* 354, 184b: šu-tag-du$_{11}$ = šu-tag = *zu”unu* (see also A. Falkenstein *ZANF* XIV p. 81); *Sumer* IV, Pl IV (= IM 50010 col. IX lines 19-22); *SRT* 1 IV 31: ki šu-tag mu-[un-na-an-d]u$_{11}$ (See also Römer *SKI* p. 156f. commentary to line 35 and p. 204 note 68).

13. A. Falkenstein (see *SAHG* p. 133) translates gú-a "at the shore (of the sea)." Cf. also line 52: é zà-ga dù-a "the house which was built on the side." Eridu however, had never been situated on the Gulf . In other words, the coastline in the ancient times was far south of the city. (See G.M. Lees and H. L. Falcon, *The Geographical Journal* CXVIII (1952) pp. 24 ff.) gú = *kišādu* "shore", refers here to the shore of a canal where the temple was situated. Moreover, in line 57 the temple is standing on the edge of the Engur: é da-engur-ra. The Engur here cannot be associated with the sea south of Mesopotamia, since engur and abzu are synonymous words referring to the underground fresh waters (see *CAD* E 168^{a} s.v. *engurru*: en-gur ÍD = *ap-su-ú*). By and large, we must not think of the "Eridu Canal," since Fuad Safar (*Sumer* VI p. 28) states that "the course of the canal crosses the flat depression of Eridu from north-west to south-east, and its nearest point to Eridu, was about 3 Kms from the north-west of that site." For further discussion on this canal see Th. Jacobsen, *Iraq* XXII p. 180f. Finally, there is a bare possibility, however, that Eridu in ancient times was located on the Euphrates to which gú-a in our line seems to refer.

14. inim du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ = *a-ma-nu-ú* (*a-ma-nu-u* = *da-ab-bi-bu*) "talker" see now *CAD* A/2 3^{a} s.v. *āmânû*. Cf. also *Lú* III 33-34: inim du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ =

āmânû, *muštāmû*. For ad gi$_4$-gi$_4$ "advice" see *ŠL* 146, 36^a: ad gi$_4$-gi$_4$ = *mitluku* = *rigma apālu*; see also *OBGT* XVII 7(= *MSL* IV 127,7) and now *CAD* A/2 155^{b}f. s.v. *apālu* v.2. Cf. line 91 of our text: i$_7$-dè lugal-bi-ir ad im-mi-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$, where ad gi$_4$-gi$_4$ is in the meaning of *rigma apālu*. In the last reference, ad gi$_4$-gi$_4$ needs the dative, whereas in the meaning of *mitluku*, it takes the comitative, cf. *Gud*. Cyl. A V 1; 24; and A. Falkenstein, *ZANF* XV p. 106 line 14. For the translation of our line see *CAD* G 97 s.v. *gisallu* A: "its (the temple's) voluble brickwork gives advice."

15. For ḪAR.DU reading ur$_5$-ša$_4$ = *ramāmu* "to roar," "thunder" (*ŠL* 401, 119) cf. *MSL* II 153, 2: mu-ru-um-ša KAxḪAR.DU = *ra-*[*ma-mu-um*]. See also A. Falkenstein *ZANF* XVI, 61 line 63: mir-mir-e im-u$_x$-lu ur$_5$-bi ní-bi-a ḫu-mu-un-ša$_4$ "The north wind and the south wind roar by themselves towards each other." Cf. also line 40 of our text: ní-bi-šè ur$_5$ im-ša$_4$ téš-bi-šè ad gi$_4$-gi$_4$ "Roaring by itself, at the same time giving advice (to its lord); *OECT* I, 42 I 28: é gu$_4$-gin$_x$ ur$_5$-ša$_4$ ninda-gin$_x$ gù-nun-di "House roars like a bull, bellows like a breeding-steer;" Kramer *AS* XII 36, 183: u$_4$-kalam-til-til-e ki-a ur$_5$ im-ša$_4$ "The land-annihilating storm roars below;" *CT* XXXVI 41. 21: gi-di-da-mu ur$_5$ nu-ša$_4$-mu "My flute, (the flute) which doesn't sound;" see also *Emeš-Enten* line 14: ^{d}en-líl-le ki giš-du$_{11}$-ga-ni am-gin$_x$ ur$_5$ im-ša$_4$ "Enlil, at the place which he fertilizes (i.e. the great mountains), roars like a wild ox;" *CT* XV 15, 4: ur$_5$-ša$_4$-zu

ama-gal-^{d}nin-líl ba-e-di-ḫu-luḫ-e "Of your (i.e. ^{d}Iškur's) roar, the great mother Nihlil gets terrified;" *CT* XVII 21, 106-107: sag-gig ur$_5$-ša$_4$ gù mu-un-na-an-dé-e= *muruṣ qaqqadi irammum išassi* "He roars (and) cries (when he has) a troubled head;" see also *CAD* G 97 s.v. *gisallu* A.

16. gù-nun-di "to shout loudly," "to cry loudly." See A. Falkenstein *GSGL* I p. 125; *Gud* Cyl. A VIII 25, XXVI 21, XXVIII 17; B XV 9; see also the commentary to the previous line. Cf. also *KAR* 16 rev. 13-14; *Or.NS* XXII Pl. *XLIX* (=Ni 4571 rev. 4-5): lugal a-è-a ki-bala-šè gù-nun-di-bi di-da; *LB* 963 III 80 (= van Dijk, *TLB* II, Pl. V 80 (= *Šulgi* X) Cf. also *UET* VI 1 LXXIII rev. 21, 24: Kramer, *ELA* p. 22, 266: šà-bi-ta gu$_4$ gù-nun-di-dam "From whose midst the ox roars"; *ibid* p. 40, 544: ^{d}iškur an-ki-a gù-nun-bi di-dam "Iškur, the thunderer of heaven and earth."

It is to be noted, however, that this verb is attested as gù-nun-e; cf. Kramer, *ELA* p. 20, 242: gu$_4$-gin$_x$gù-nun mu-un-di-ni-ib-bé "Like an ox he roars"; *SRT* 1 III 8: tigi ùb-ba á-lá-e gù-nun mu-ni-ib-bé "lets the *tigi* - drum, the *ubba* - drum and the *ala* - drum, sound loudly;" *VAS* X 200 I 16: ùb á-lá-e gù-nun ḫu-mu-ra-ab-bé; A. Falkenstein, *ZANF* XIII p. 210 (=*SK* 199 III - IV 6): ku$_6$ gu$_4$-dè gù-nun mu-na-ab-bé; *RA* XV 20, 54: tin làl-e gù-nun ḫa-ra-ni-ib-bé.

17. ar in text A is a syllabic writing for ár (=*tanittum*, *tanādātum* "glory;" "praise;" see A. Falkenstein, *ZANF* XIV 76) in texts C, E and II. For ár with the variant ar cf. *TCL* XV 14 II 12: a-a-ar; *STVC* 82 I 3: [nam-m]aḫ-ẓu ḳa-tar ar-šè kur-re ši-im-i-i "Your

greatness glorifies the land with homage and praise." Moreover, cf. A. Falkenstein's reference (ZANF XIV p. 76 '13') to a-re-eš and a-re-éš (=ár-re-eš); also see W. Ph. Römer, SKI 103, commentary to line 9. In addition, cf. UMBS X/4 1 II 40, where ar is written for ár. For further discussion on ár and its variants see Å. Sjöberg ZANF XX 61 commentary to line 10 and note 24; cf. also UET VI/1 94 rev. 20: nam-maḫ a-ar-zu ár-tum; UMBS X/2 15 obv. 19 = BE XXX 12, 20: me-bi al-ur$_4$—ur$_4$ ár ba-ra-an-túm.

18. The oldest writing of Isimu(d), Enki's sukkal as found in the Fara texts is SIG$_7$.PAP.NUN (see M. Civil & R. Biggs, RA LX p. 12 where A. Deimel, Schultexte aus Fara p. 39, VAT 12575 VIII 4 is quoted): ^{d}en-ki SIG$_7$.PAP NUN gù-dé "Enki says to Isimu(d)" (written as ^{d}en-ki dé SIG$_7$.PAP.NUN gù); cf. Deimel, ibid rev. IX 3: SIG$_7$.PAP.NUN. In the god list CT XXIV 16, 45: [^{d}PA] P. SIG$_7$.NUN.ME glossed with i-si-mu. The same writing can be found in Inanna's Journey to Eridu see UMBS V 25 I 21, 36, 38, 44 (adds -dè); II 5, 11 (adds - dè), 40; III 42, 48 (adds -dè) also); IV 61. In "Enki and Ninhurasaga" BASOR Supl. Stud. 1 (lines 91, 94 197, 200) the name is written as: PAP.SIG$_7$.NUN.ME.EZEN x KAS.

This orthographical writing of the later form of Isimu(d) is basically similar to the logogram with which two other deities (viz. Enkum and Ninkum see note one below) were written in other literary texts, except that when Enkum and Ninkum are written the logogram usually starts with EN and NIN respectively, whereas in the case of Isimu(d), the logogram is always preceded by *sukkal*.[2] Cf. Ni. 9839 obv. 6: sukkal ^{d}PAP.SIG$_7$.NUN.ME.EZEN x KAS-dè á [-ág].

20. For KA-sum-mu "to talk" see *Nabnītu* X 308-309: [K]A-sè-ga = *šagāmu* "to roar," "to shout"; [K]A-sum-mu = *šagāmu*; *Proto Lu* 417: KA-sum-mu (together with KA-g[ar] in line 415); KA-gá-gá (line 416); KA-šár-šár (line 418); *MSL* I p. 77 6, I 46-47: mu-dingir-ra gù^{gu} li-bí-in-SUM = *ana nīš ili ul iš-ru-ur* "he shouldn't dare to

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[1] The Sum. enkum is attested in the following texts: *SRT* 11, 18 (:ZANF XIX p. 106): enkum ninkum-e me-téš àm-i-i-ne; *Keši Hymn* (: G. Gregg's edition): enkum-e-ne KA x BALAG? ki àm-ma-gal-le-eš (text Y: EN.PAP-e); Bernhardt & Kramer *EWO* line 103; *UET* VI/1 69 rev. 8, together with ninkum (in connection with *Asarluḫi*, the son of Enki); *UMBS* V 25 I 29 *Inanna's Journey to Eridu*). For the Sumerian logogram of enkum and ninkum (see *CAD* E 168 f.s.v. *enkummu*): en-ku-um = EN.PAP.SIG$_7$NUN.ME.EZEN x KAS (cf. also *IVR* 21 rev. II 24 and the dupl. See G. Meier, *AfO* XIV 134, 146, 148, 168; Schollmeyer, *Šamaš* no. 1 III 42-43 = VR 51 rev. III 42-43). Ninkum is written with a logogram exactly similar to that of Enkum except it starts with ^{d}nin(*VR* *ibid.* line 43); cf. also *CT* *loc. cit.*, line 13: ne-en-ku-um NIN.PAP.SIG$_7$.NUN.ME.EZEN x KAS. Finally cf. *VAT* 12761 VIII lines 20-21 (Deimel, *Schultexte aus Fara* p. 9) where both Isimu(d) and Enkum are mentioned:

SIG$_7$PAP.NUN.ME
SIG$_7$EN <.PAP> .NUN.EZEN <x?>

[2] Cf. also *UET* VI/1 2 rev. 33 and 35.

swear." Cf. line 70 in our text: [sukkal] ^{d}isimud (^{d}PAP.SIG$_{7}$.NUN.ME.EZEN x KAS) -dè sig$_{4}$-e gù ba-an-sum "(Thus) said Isimud to the brickwork."

21. For ki-gar-ra, "to establish," "to build" see A. Falkenstein *ZANF* XIV p. 97; XVIII p. 65; XXIII p. 79; *idem*. *GSGL* II p. 54 note 5; *idem*. *SGL* I p. 41 note 36, p. 42, p. 69; Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I pp. 39f, 58,62.

22. si:"to go deep into something," "to deepen," see A. Falkenstein *Or NS* XXXV p. 232, 235; cf. *Gud* Cyl. A XXII 11: temen abzu-bi dim-gal-gal ki-a mi-ni-in-si "The (ensi) deepened its foundation (-pit), the Abzu, into the earth like huge piles"; A XX 15; XI 18; XXVIII 23, XXX 5; *Gud.* Cyl. B XIII 3; *SRT* 11, 17; *Keši Hymn* line 36: te-me-bi abzu-a si-ga (var. sa$_{5}$-ga). It is to be noted, however, that text E has lá-a "to spread over," instead of si-ga.

23. mí-du$_{11}$-ga = *kunnû* to prepare carefully," "to care for," see *ŠL* 554, 13 a; *AHw* 414 f.s.v. *kanû*. Cf. also *Lugale* XII 31:
[x x x] x [ ]-en-[z]é? -en guškin-ta mí-zi-[dè-e]š!
ḫé-en-du$_{11}$-[x x] = *ina ḫ[urāṣi] [ki]-niš li-k[an-ni*].

24. The translation of ní šu-ti-a Akk. *puluḫta leqû* as "*awe-inspiring,*" is a bare assumption, since there is no other example of this sort to compare with. The literal translation of this complex i.e. "awe-taking" does not fit the context. Falkenstein's conjectured translation "gefürchtet" (*SAHG* p. 133), however, is rather better. Moreover, this verbal construction may well be classified with ní —— gál "to be full of fear," cf. line 55 also; ní —— gùr-ru "to be horrifying," cf. also line 27. Finally, cf. *CAD* A/2 194^{a}

s.v. *apsû*: pirig abzu-ta me-huš-a šu-ti-a = *namru ina ap-si-i parṣī ezzūti leqû* "lion who has received the fearsome divine ordinances in the Apsu."

25. For ul-la —— túm, "to bring joy," cf. the commentary to line 8. The variant [abzu-^{d}en]-ki-ka in text E for abzu-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ is to be understood as "the Abzu of Enki." Cf. line 16: é-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ "the house of Enki" (var. text E: é-^{d}-en-ki-ka); line 38: é-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ (var. text E: é-^{d}en-ki-ka); line 58: é-maḫ-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ (var. text E: é!-maḫ-^{d}en-ki-ka, so texts H and I, FF: é-maḫ-^{d}en-ki-ga. In line 66: -^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ "The (....) of Enki" (var. texts E and I: -^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$; line 68: du$_{11}$-ga-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ (var. texts E and I: du$_{11}$-ga-^{d}en-ki-ka; KK:[ ]-ga; line 73: eridu^{ki}-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ (var. texts E and I: eridu^{ki}-^{d}en-ki-ka, KK:[-g]a. In OB the variant -ke$_4$ often developed from -ka.

26. giš-sag-kul = *sikkūru* "*lock*" see Salonen *Türen* p. 88ff; *ŠL* 115, 79; *Gud* Cyl. A XXVII 22; *CT* XV 11, 15; *OECT* I 44 III 30; *HAV* 10, 6 = *SEM* 51 I$_7$; *UMBS* XII 52 I 11 (:M. Civil, *Iraq* XXIII p. 167 commentary to line 26); Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 37 commentary to line 4; *idem*. *Nungal Hymn* line 22 (and the comment): giš-sag-kul-bi pirig-ḫuš nam-šul-ba gú-da lá-a "Its lock is like furious lions who embrace one another." For gaba-šu-gar = *maḫāru ša nakri*,= *māḫira/i* see *ŠL* 167, 99 a-b; *AHw* 577^{b} s.v. *maḫāru(m)*.

27. giš-si-gar = *šigaru* and the old Akkadian form *šigurum* see Salonen, *Türen* pp. 81, 86 ff., 134 and 135. In the light of the list of synonyms *CT* XVIII 3 rev. LL 32: *ši-ga-ru* = *šik-ku-rum*, proves that giš-si-gar and giš-sag-kul (line 26) are two words with the

same meaning *viz*. "lock". Therefore, Salonen's (*loc*. *cit*.) and Falkenstein's (*SAHG* p. 163: *Gud*. Cyl. A XXVI 24) translation of (giš)-si-gar as "Riegel," as well as L. Oppenheim's of giš-sag-kul as "bar" (see the *Dreams Book* pp. 279, 324) seem to contradict the above list of synonyms. *CAD* (cf. e 115^{b} s.v. *elû*; Ḫ 208^{a} s.v. *ḫattu* A; I/J 135^{b} s.v. *imna*), however, translates the term in question as "lock". This interpretation seems to be preferable in the light of I. J. Gelb's (see *MAD* III p. 266) and E. I. Gordon's (see *Sumer* XII 8 o f.) translation of si-gar-ur-gir$_{x}$ as the "neck-stock" and the yoke which is used around the dog's neck. Cf. also *CT* XV 11, 11 and 16; *ibid* XLII 25 obv. 10; 6 obv. II 15; *Inanna's Descent* lines 116, 122; IV R 20, 2, 2-4 (: *ZANF* XIII, p. 203): *TCL* XVI 69 obv. 14; *UET* I 169, 25; *SEM* 51 I 9; *MBI* 1 VIII 3^{1}; Å. Sjöberg, *Nungal-Hymn* line 25.

28. For giš-ùr = *gušūru* "beam;""log" see *CAD* G 144^{a} s.v. *gušūru*; *AHw* 300^{a} s.v. *gušūru(m)*. For mùš-kù-galam-du$_{11}$-ga "the artfully-made shape," see the commentary to line 9.

29. gi-kid = *kītu* "reed-mat," see A. Goetze, *JCS* II 176 ff; *AHw* 495^{b} s.v. *kītu(m)*. Cf. van Dijk (*SGL* II p. 64) where he translates our line by "your reed-mats are brightly shining, an ornament? for the beam." Cf. also the following quotations: *UMBS* XIII 41, 4 (: *SGL* II 57/58): gi-kid-za-gìn-na-gin$_{x}$ x̣ [x̣] x̣ ad-kup$_{x}$-x-bi za-ẹ-me-en "The [.....], as with brightly shining mats [is...], ...you are a basket-weaver," *VAS* X 201, 12 (:*SGL* II 64): gi-kid-za-gìn-na-ka nu-mu-un-dù-a gi-kid-zu ba-da-túm "One who is unable to build of brightly shining reed-mats, he took away your

reed-mats." For gùn (DAR) = *burrumu* "to paint," "to decorate," cf. our commentary to line 11.

30. nir-gam-ma "vault," see S. N. Kramer, *EWO* line 344; A. Falkenstein, *ZANF* XXII p. 85 commentary to line 344; *Gud* Cyl. A XXV 8; *SEM* 51 13 *HAV* 10, 2 *UMBS* XII 40, 17 (see *SGL* I p. 65) Å. Sjöberg, *Nungal Hymn* line 18: nir-gam-ma-bi ᵈtir-an-na-gin_xní-huš im-da-(var. -an)-ri "Its vault like the rainbow, is clothed with terror." It is to be noted that texts V, X, and JJ replace gu_4 "bull" with am "wild ox."

32. Texts A, T and JJ have I.LU to be read as kun_4 = *simmiltu*" "stairs," see B. Lansberger, *AfO* XII 55: A. Falkenstein *ZANF* XXII p. 124 F. commentary to lines 14 and 15; texts E and LL, however, have I. DIB = i-dib = *askuppatu*, *askuppu* "threshold", see A. Falkenstein, *ibid*; *CAD* A/2 333^b ff s.v. *askuppatu* and *askuppu*; *ŠL* 142, 99a. By and large, the reading i-dib "threshold" would fit the context better since Isimu(d) as in the previous line is still describing various parts of the temple's door.

33. For me-te(-gál) = *simtu* "ornament," "fitness," see *ŠL* 532, 118a, *Lugale* XI 16: me-te-aš/me-te-a-šè = *ana simāti*

XII 11: me-te-àm-aš = *ana simāti*

XIII 45: me-te-áš ḫé-em-mị-[gál].

Cf. also Å. Sjöberg *TH* 2, 31; *UMBS* V 1, 16-17; Kramer *EWO* line 31; *idem*. *SLTNi* 2 obv. 11; *TMHS NF* III 10, 204 *SEM* 1 I 15, 16; *ibid* 78, obv. II 5; *SRT* 21 rev. IV 18; *VAS* II 1 obv. I 22-25; *BE* XXXI 13, 6.

34. For engur (= LAGABxḪAL), abzu = *a-ap-su-um*, *engurru* "deep water," "sea," "the underground fresh waters" cf. *CAD* E 168^{a} s.v. *engurru* and A/2 194 ff. s.v. *apsû*.

36. All texts have temen-zu "your foundation" except text A where -zu is replaced by -bi. Apparently, Isimu(d) is still addressing his speech to the temple. Therefore, the 2nd sing. pronominal suffix would fit better than -bi.

This line provides us with a variety of interesting variants for the verb DI. In texts A, E, P, U, JJ and LL: -DI; text B: -si-ig; text G: sìg (= PA). sá(= DI) here is a phonetic writing for ša$_6$ = *damāqu* "to embellish" cf. *CAD* D 61^{a} s.v. *damāqu*, where the following lexical equations are attested:

si-ig = ŠA$_6$ = *damāqu*
si-ig$_{\text{SIG}_5}$ = *damāqu*

For sìg (= PA) = *damāqu* see *ŠL* 295, 15.

37. The difficulty in this line lies in understanding the first reduplicated KA and the sign inscribed within, of which there are four variants: in texts E, P, X, Y, JJ and LL: KA x LI-KA x LI; texts A and Q: KA x ŠE-KA x ŠE; text B: KA x MI!-KA x MI! and text H: KA x EŠ-KA x EŠ. The known readings of KA x LI are: milí = *šiptu* "incantation" (see *MSL* II 57, 327; *UET* VI/2 354, 3: KA x LI (mi-li-ba *ḫa-la-tum*)-ba, see Å. Sjöberg *Or NS* XXXVII p. 238; see also A. Falkenstein, *SGL* I p. 48 commentary to line 48; E. I. Gordon, *SP* 2, 43; *ŠL* 16,8); uš$_7$ "spell" (see *MSL* *op.cit.* 57, 325; *SP* 2.43^{4}); tu$_6$ "incantation;" "spell" (see A. Falkenstein,

ibid., *MSL* *op.cit* 57, 326; *ŠL* 16, 5; *SP* 2.43^4, 2.106^1.) Cf. also *OECT* III 57 XXIV no. 152 I so-34:

KAxLI = *ši-ip-tum*
= *ra-mi-mu-um*
= *ri-ig-mu-um*
= *wa-ši-pu-um*

KAxŠE = *šaqummatu* "silence," see *ŠL* 27, 4; *RA* XXX 30,135 *CT* XII 41 II_7; also to be read as tukúr *kaṣāṣu* "to gnaw," "to nibble," see *MSL* II 153, 14; *SP* 1.104^5. For KAxEŠ, on the other hand, meaning unknown see *ŠL* 29^{xx}, 1. KAxMI, according to *ŠL* (31, 1 and 2) is attested with the following equivalents: 1) *adāru* "to be worried" (see *CAD* A/1 103^a s.v. *adāru* A; and 2) *ku-bu-ru* meaning unknown.

None of the preceding meanings seems to fit this context. Therefore, since the meaning of this reduplicated sign is still not known, it is difficult to suggest a translation. We can however, assume that this sign must refer to some part of the construction of the temple. An analogy could be made with the previous line where Enki embellished the temple's foundation with carnelian, and in this line, he decorated the ..... with lapis lazuli.

For mí —— du_{11} see the commentary to line 23.

38. làl-ḫar is found also in the "Ninkasi Hymn" (see M. Civil, *Stud.-Opp.* p. 69) line 5: uru-zu (var. urú) làl-ḫar-re (var. -e instead of -re) ki ús-sa "Your city is founded on a ....." In his commentary on a line quoted in a passage from the "Contest between the Bird and the Fish" line 74: làl-ḫar-ku-zu kin la-ba-an-si-ga

"(But) your ..... has not been worked", M. Civil has no longer associated làl-ḫar with iškuru (a type of wax, see Civil loc. cit. p. 74f.) In RA LX p. 92, Civil states that làl-ḫar and làl-gar, following W. G. Lambert AfO XVII/2 p. 319 C 11, III, are synonymous words. There are parallels to the alternative ḫ/g, according to him, although rare. In Lambert's treatment of làl-gar (see Lambert, loc. cit.) the following lexical equation is cited: [l]àl-gar = ap-su-u. In AHw (529^b s.v. lalgar) the word is rendered as "the subsoil-water (the sea) = apsû. CAD (see G 101^b s.v. gišḫuru 1.b) also quotes Lambert's line (loc. cit): ḫàit làl-gar bâšimu giš-ḫu-ru (var. giš-ḫur-ri) "(Asarluḫi) who penetrates into the Apsu who forms the archetypes."

In the previously quoted line of the "Ninkasi Hymn", the làl-ḫar appears to denote the Abzu, whereas the goddess Ninkasi (line 9) appears as Enki's daughter. By and large, làl-ḫar in the "contest between the Bird and the Fish, (line 74)" designates more generally the 'lagoon' where the fish live.

For kur$_7$ (=IGI+ZALÁG)______ak(-a) = ṣarāpu ša kaspi "to refine (metals see CAD S 102^af.s.v. ṣarāpu A; MSL VII p. 237 line 63 (Forerunner to Ḫḫ XII): kù-babbar-kur$_7$-ak. For the reading of SIG$_5$-ak(-a) as kur$_7$-ak(-a), see MSL ibid. note to line 63 with reference to Nabnītu XXIII 162: SIG$_5$ (with gloss kur)-ak-a = naṣraptu. Cf. also SLTNi 114b 22 = SRT 27, 3 = SEM 59, 7; kù-ša$_6$-ga-gin$_x$ kur$_7$ ḫé-bí-aka "You have purified me, therefore, I am as good as silver," note that this translation is against Civil's, see JCS XX p. 123 no. 5.1; CT XVII 23, 182f:

kù-babbar-kur$_7$-gin$_x$ mu-sír-bi ḫu-mu-ta-ḫád = *kīma ṣarpi ṣurrupi ruššušu littanbiṭ* "his impurity should shine like purified silver."

For ús (-a) —— sì-ga = *ūsu/i(m) šūḫuzu/i(m)* lit. "Ordnungsbegriff"; "(gute) Führung" see A. Falkenstein XIII p. 190 note 7; *ibid*. XV 110, 83; *ibid*. VII 167. See also *CAD* A/1 180^b s.v. *aḫāzu* 9 a. (= *šūḫuzu*) 2' "to instill good behavior." Cf. *UMBS* X/2 rev. 10 (see also Falkenstein *SAHG* p. 19) ; *TCL* XV 36, 7; *ibid*. XVI 88 I 12.

For ús (-a); ú-sa, ús-sa; ús-aš-a = *ūsu*, *rīdu* "one track" cf. *RA* XI 149, 1 30-31; *STVC* 66 I 17; *UMBS* X/4 1 I 19; *VAT* 9205, 21 (:A. Falkenstein, *ZA NF* XVIII p. 59 line 21); *CT* XXXVI 26, 6. The translation "obedient" is conjuctured from the literal meaning of the expression ús-a —— sì-ga, namely "lining up animals and directing them in order."

40. ní-bi-šè = *ana ramānišu* see *ŠL* 399, 14 and 125; E. I. Cordon *SP* 2. 115^1. For ur$_5$ —— ša$_4$ = *ramāmu* "to roar", see the commentary to line 15. For téš-bi(-šè) = *mitḫāriš*, *ištēniš*, see the commentary to line 6. For ad —— gi$_4$-gi$_4$ "to give advice", see the commentary to line 14.

41. gi-dub-ba-an = *qān ṭuppānu* "stylus" see *ŠL* 85, 249. Cf. Kramer "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" *JCS* V p. 11 line 280 (where the large *galla* demons are compared with the gi-dub-ba-an): galla-gal-gal gi-dub-ba-na (var.-an-na)-ke$_4$ "The large demons (like) *dubban*-reeds." As for the verb lá, neither of its known meanings seem to fit the context. A. Falkenstein (*SAHG* p. 134), however,

gives a conjectured translation of this verb as "entworfen".

42. For ki-gar-ra "to found", "to establish". See the commentary to line 21.

43. zà-du$_8$ = *sippu* "threshold". see A. Falkenstein, *ZA NF* XXII p. 124 commentary to line 14; *ŠL* 332, 88; Kramer *ELA* 132, 206; *SEM* 28 obv. 8 (:*BASOR* 94, 7, 9). Cf. also *CT* XXXVI 46, 20 (= *SK* 17 rev. I 7); *ibid* XLII 20, 10; Civil, *Iraq* XXIII p. 156 line 10; *UMBS* XII 40 obv. 14.

In texts A, probably B and E, P, Y, JJ, LL and OO: á-múš = *aškud* = *aškuttu* (*AHw*, 81 s.v. "grosser Reigel"), whereas in text I: á!-mùš. von Soden (*Or NS* XXVII 253 f. no. 98) reads á-*SUḪ*/sukú for *aškuttu*; *CAD* (A/2 444^b f. s.v. *aškuttu* 2.) reads it also Á. SUḪ. Moreover, the presence of á-mùš in text I, proves that the reading of the other variants must be -múš and not SUḪ, (since mùš does not have a SUḪ value). In addition, the meaning of the word *aškuttu* according to *CAD* (*ibid* p. 445) "denotes an earth structure in fields and around houses." *CAD* bases its meaning on our line which is quoted and translated. The *CAD*'s translation is used here.

47. For the translation of this line cf. *CAD* A/2 194^b s.v. *apsû* : šà-šeg$_4$-bar-ra i-bí mu-bar-re-da-mu = *qí-rib ap-si-i šá la nap-lu-si* "The midst of the Apsu that cannot be seen."

48. abgal (= NUN-ME) = *apkallu*/*abgallu*-priest, see Å. Sjöberg *OrNS* XXXVII p. 240 and *CAD* A/2 171^b s.v. *apkallu* (: *UET* VI/2 388 rev. b 11-14 and the dupl. no. 389 8ff.): abgal síg-bar-ra du$_8$-a-ni = *ap-kal-lum pe-re-et-sú ana warkišu wuššurim* "When the *apkallu*-priest lets his hair down his back."

50. For the verb sù(g) = *malû* "to be full" see *ŠL* 373, 16; *AHw* 597 s.v. *malû(m)* IV.

52. For the meaning of the expression zà-ga dù-a, see the commentary to line 13. Cf. also line 127 of this text: èš-abzu nam-du$_{10}$ ^{d}en-ki-ke$_{4}$ me-galam-ma túm-ma

53-54. For aba$_{x}$(=AB) (var. a-ab-ba(k) line 54) = *tâmtu* "sea", see Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 116, commentary to line 24; *ŠL* 579, 206b; Th. Jacobsen, *JNES* V, p. 138 ff.; For a-ab-ba-zi-ga "rising sea", see A. Falkenstein, *ZA NF* XV, p. 116 line 17: gú-un-dugud-a-ab-sig-igi-nim-ma "Schwerer Tribut vom lenteren(bis zum) Oberen Meer". For lá = *tarāṣu* "to spread out" see *ŠL* 481, 50a. For gaba-šu-gar "rival" see the commentary to line 26.

55. For the translation of su-kalam-ma zi-zi "which frightens the Land (Sumer)," see the full treatment of this expression in Å. Sjöberg, *TH* no. 3 commentary to line 39. For ní-gál-la "to be full of fear," see our commentary to line 24.

56. urú (= URU x UD) in texts A, I and probably texts E, H and R; uru$_{x}$ (=URU x A) in texts FF, as well as the phonetically written variant *viz.* u$_{x}$(= ULÙ)-ru in texts B, J, L, Y, and GG = *abūbu* "deluge"; "flood", see *CAD* A/1 77 s.v. *abūbu*. See also the detailed discussion held by Å. Sjöberg on this word and its varied meaning in *TH* no. 5 commentary to line 64 and especially note 20 on p. 64.

For the compound verb ki —— ús (-sa) "to reach/touch the earth" cf. *SRT* 11, 30; *ibid* 14, 26; *AJA* 53, 8, 33; *TCL* XVI 50, 49 = *STVC* 52 rev. II 23 (:*WO* I 185); *MBI* 8 rev. 26.

57. da = *idu* "side," "edge" (see *CAD* I/J 10^b f. s.v. *idu* A 2.) is identical with the Sumerian postposition and infix-da (-da-). In addition, da can also be placed in front of the main word in a phrase in the sense of "with" (= *itti*, *ittum* *CAD* I/J 302^b f. s.v. *itti*), cf. for example: M. Civil "Dialogue between Two Women" (unpublished) line 21: e-gi$_4$-a-da-NINDÁ x U[.RUM](= ur$_7$) -ra-na-ka du$_{14}$ mu-ni-in-sar "The daughter-in-law (started) quarrel with her mother-in-law." da is also attested to mean *šaḫātu* "outer sides", "outside, versus ub = *tubqu*" inner side(s)"; "inside" (see G. Castellino, *ZA NF* XIX p. 132). Nevertheless, da in our expression é da-engur-ra must mean "House (standing at) the edge of the Engur". For that cf. *CAD* A/2 194^a s.v. *apsû* = da-da-ke$_4$ engur-ra-ke$_4$ zukum (= GUG$_4$)-e ba-an-na-te = *idāt ap-si-i ana kabāsi iṭḫûni* "They (the demons) approached in order to tread the edges of the Apsu."

59. akkil (= GADA.KÍD.SI) = *ikkillu* "clamor," "uproar," "cry," see *CAD* I/J 57^b s.v. *ikkillu*, *ŠL* 92a, 2; Å. Sjöberg, *TH* no. 18 commentary to line 228. The variant a-akkil (text FF) is also attested see *ibid* commentary to line 229 where *Proto-Izi* 462-463: za-pa-ág, a-akkil "cry" is quoted.) The -a- in the variant akkil-a-zu (texts E and Y) should be considered a scribal error.

While texts A, E, J, Y, FF and QQ have i$_7$-maḫ-zi-ga-gin$_x$, text I on the other hand, has im-maḫ-. The elision of the sound -d in i$_7$(d) into the sound m- in *maḫ* perhaps due to mishearing on the part of the ancient scribe, since the dropping of the final consonants is well attested in Sumerian.

60. For du$_{12}$ (= TUK) = *zamāru* "to sing"; "to sound", see *CAD* Z 36^b f.

s.v. *zamāru* A; Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 52 and 101. Note that the subject here is akkil-zu in the preceding line.

62-64 $^{\text{giš}}$zà-mí, a kind of lyre, is attested with the Akkadian equivalent *sammû*, see B. Landsberger, *ZANF* VIII p. 155; *MSL* VI p. 121 line *44 and 49. Cf. also *SRT* 6, line 14; $^{\text{giš}}$zà-mí ki-du$_{10}$-ša$_{6}$-ge nam-lú-ulù-ka "The *zami*-lyre which beautifies the place of joy of the people;" *UET* VI/i 81 rev. 7. For further discussion on this musical instrument, see H. Hartman, *Musik* p.71ff.

Of the *algarsurrû*-musical instrument (against *CAD*'s translation: "plectrum," or "drumstick," see A/1 388^{b} s.v. *algarsurrû*), which, according to *CAD*, is attested only in Sumerian texts, we have the following orthographical writings:

A: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-balag-sur$_{x}$ (=ÙZ.BALAG)-za (texts E and I: -sur$_{x}^{!}$-).
B: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-zu-balag-sur$_{x}$ (=GIŠ.ÙZ!.BẠḶẠG̣!)-da
C: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-giš-balag!-giš-al-[ ]
H: [ạ]ḷ-gar-zu!-balag!-giš-al-gar-sur$_{x}$-ra-tạ.
J: $^{\text{gi[š}}$al-g]ar-balag-giš-sur$_{x}$-da.
FF: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-balag-sur$_{x}$ (=ÙZ.BALAG)-da
NN: $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-balag-giš-al-gar-sur$_{x}$-da.

For another reference not quoted by *CAD*, *ibid*., see *UET* VI/1 68 obv. 17 (and the dupl. CBS 11363): $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar-sur$_{x}$ (=ÙZ.B[ALAG])-ra mu-na-tag-tag-ge The *algarsurrû*-instrument plays for him (Nanna);" A 30230.(:3N-T 386-Chicago) obv. 14: giš-al<gar>-sur$_{x}$ (=ÙZ x BALAG): courtesy of Prof. Sjöberg . For the reading sur$_{x}$ of the group signs BALAG.ÙZ, BALAG x ÙZ, ÙZ.BALAG, ÙZ x BALAG, and our new variant (text B above): GIŠ.ÙZ.BALAG, see the references cited by *CAD* *ibid*. s.v. *algarsurrû*. For further discussion on this musical instrument see CAD A/1 377^{b} s.v. *alû* C (=Sum. $^{\text{giš}}$al-gar, etc., a wooden drum).

For $^{\text{giš}}$-ḫar-ḫar = *ḫarḫarru*, a string musical instrument, see *CAD* *Ḫ* 100 s.v. *ḫarḫarru*; *AHw* 325 s.v. *ḫarḫa(r)ru(m)*, *ḫaḫḫarum*. From a text enumerating varied musical instruments (i.e. Examination Text A line 28: DT 147 rev. =*BSOAS* XX p. 256, K. 2459 rev. 1f., *LKA* 66, 8-10, VAT 17071) we quote the following passage: [x] -x-ga ḫub-dar [xxx] LAM giš-zà-[mí] giš-balag-di giš-ḫar-ḫar [giš] -gù-dé-gù-dé-bi [a-na gál-la sa$_4$] -a-bi sur-sur-re-e-dè ì-zu-ù =[x x x x]*-a-ti rikbu* [.....*k*]*i-ṣir-sammê tim-bu-ut-ti ḫar-ḫar-ri* [*u ini*] *mala bašû ni-ba-šú-nu nussuka tīde.* Cf. also A 30230 (:3N-T386-Chicago) obv. 15: giš-ḫar-ḫar (see also Å. Sjöberg in *Stud*.-*Lands*. p.64^{b} s.v. za-na-ru, where this text is quoted and discussed); Castellino, *Šulgi B* line 166.

As for the $^{\text{giš}}$sa-bí-tum and the $^{\text{giš}}$mi-rí-tum musical instruments, neither their type nor nature is actually as yet known. They were according to H. Hartman (*Musik* p. 77 f.) probably considered by the Sumerians to be of special importance, since both are mentioned in Gudea (only *mirītum*, see Cyl. B X 11) to entertain Ningirsu, as well as in our text to entertain Enki. In addition, one can assume that both instruments are connected with the culture of the Semitic people since their names point to being Akk. loan words in Sumerian. Moreover, A.

Falkenstein (*SAHG* p. 135), with respect to these musical instruments, suggests the translation "the lyres of Saba and Maʾeri." These two localities according to I. J. Gelb (*MAD* III p. 263) are the country of Sabum [i.e<ŠBʾ$_{x}^{?}$ (*šabîtum*)→*Šabum*→*Sabum*], and the city of Mari (modern Tell el-Ḥarīri) on the upper Euphrates. Cf. *MSL* VI p. 157 (:H̬h̬ VII B. 77): giš-má-rí<-tum>=[*mirītum*]. See also I. J. Gelb, *loc*. *cit*., p. 182 s.v. mrʾ$_x$ with references. For further references see Castellino, *Šulgi B* lines 164-165; A 30230 (:3N-T 386 - Chicago, courtesy of Dr. Sjöberg) line obv. 14 which probably could be restored as follows: [giš-sa-b] í-tum.

For ad = *rigmu* "shouting," "noise," "sound," "voice," see *ŠL* 145.6. For KA x NUN to be read as nundum/n = *šaptu* "lip," see *MSL* II p. 153 line 17: [n]un-du-um = KAxNUN = *ša-ap-* [*tum*]; *IM* 51544, line 3 ff (:*Sumer* XIII p. 77): KA! x NUN- bànda ì?-sa$_6$ ^{d}inanna za-kam = *ša-ap-ti še-er-ri-im na-ša-qum kûma Ištar*; M. Civil, *Iraq* XXIII p. 160 line 73: nundun-gal-gal gi-zi nag-gá "The one who (has) big lips, sucks the *zi*-reeds;" *TCL* VI 51, 21 = *RA* XI 145, 21: li-bi-ir-zi-da-mu šu-um-du-um kal-kal-la-bi inim-díb-ba-mu mu-un-zu-a = *sukkallum kīnu šaptān šuqurātuš mūdû pirištija* "My trustworthy messenger (whose) inestimable lips know my secrets." The connection between nundum and balag "harp" is not clear. However, it may well refer to the humming of lips which resembles the musical sound of the harp.

The meaning of búr-re (var.-e), on the other hand, constitutes another difficulty. It is also uncertain whether *ŠL* 11, 2a) and 11, 42: BÚR = du-u = ṭâbu "to be good," as a phonetic writing for du$_{11}$, fits the context here.

65. šà-ní-ba-ka (var. -ba-ke$_4$ and -ba-ke$_4$-eš) "in their own". Cf. line 66: giš-al-gar-kù-^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ (var. -ka) ní-ba (var. ní-bi-a) mu-un-na-du$_{12}$; MBI 7 V 12 and the dupl.: šèm á-lá giš![3]-asila giš-gù-di ní-ba mu-na-du$_{12}$: van Dijk SSA p. 46 f. line 12, translates ní-ba (with regard to musical instrument) by "de leur propre mouvement."

For ad ——— ša$_4$ (DU) = nasāsu, "to lament," "to wail," see AHw 753^{b} s.v. nasāsu(m) I: Reisner SBH 14 obv. 26/27 (:CAD Z 35^{b} s.v. zamāru): umun-ra èn-du nu-mu-un-ab-zé-eb-ba ad-ša$_4$ nu-mu-un-na-ab-sìg-ga = ana bēlu zamāru ul ṭâbšu nissatu (copied ni-sa!-tu$_4$) ul damiqšu "Songs do not please the lord, laments are not agreeable to him;" Th-Dangin RA XXXIII p. 105 line 9 (: AO 18589): nu-nunus ad im-ša$_4$ = sin-niš-tum ina-su-us "the woman wails " ad-ša$_4$ mar-ra-bi = ni-is-sa-ta i-šak-kan "lamentations she sets up." In connection with musical instruments, A. Falkenstein ZANF XIII p. 209 (: CT XXXVI 41, 19) translates this compound verb by "dröhnen": ùb-kù-ga ad nu-ša$_4$-ša$_4$-a-mu "My holy ùb-musical instrument does not drone (for me);" cf. also UMBS X/4 i III 7 (=STVC 66 I 15.)

66. For giš-al-gar, ní-ba and du$_{12}$, see the commentaries to lines 62, 65 and 60 respectively.

67. imin = kiššatu "all" "the totality," see AHw 492^{a} s.v. kiššati(m) I. For ad——— ša$_4$ nasāsu, see the commentary on line 65.

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3) The tablet has gá? (collated).

68. šu —— bal = *šupēlu* "to change;" "to refute," see *ŠL* 353, 33^{a}, Falkenstein, *ZA NF* XV, p. 106, line 16: Th. Jacobsen & Kramer, *JNES* XII 181 f. (: *SLTNi* 19 rev. 10): du$_{11}$-ga-ni sag-dù-[dù-a] šu nu-bala-d[è] "his impetuous word cannot be changed"; Kramer *SM* p. 113, note 39, 2: en nam-tar-ra-na šu nu-bal-e-dè "The lord (Enlil) whose decisions are unalterable"; *AS* XII 34, 169: ^{d}mu-ul-líl-le du$_{11}$-ga-è-a-ni šu nu!-bal-e-dè; *ibid* 46, 258: *CT* XXXVI 26, 26; *SEM* 1 II 41; *SRT* 36, 13; *SLTNi* 16 rev. 3; *SAK* , p. 156 III 32-34.

69. The restoration of this line is difficult. B is the only text in which traces of the two missing signs exist. Unfortunately these traces are illegible. A. Falkenstein, *SAHG* p. 135 tentatively translated the signs as "für [ewi]ge Tage."

70. For gù —— sum = *šagāmu*, see the commentary to line 20. For the reading of Isimu(d), see the commentary to line 18.

71. For šìr = *zamāru* "song" see *CAD* Z 35^{b} ff. s.v. *zamāru*.

74. galam-kad$_5$ "to be built/made in an artful fashion." For a full treatment of this expression see Å. Sjöberg, *TH* no. 30 commentary to line 379; cf. also our commentary to line 9 for the similar expression mùš-kù-galam-du$_{11}$-ga.

The verb SI.A could be read either as -diri, or as -sa$_5$. diri is attested in the meaning *neqelpû* "to sail downstream," see Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 26 f.; Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge* p. 19 and note 4; *ŠL* 123, 31; E. I. Gordon *SP* 1.86^{4}, 1.87; *Gud*. Cyl. A XV 26: muš-maḫ-àm a-e im-diri-ga-àm "(The *šarur* weapon) is a dragon (lit. a great snake) sailing downstream." The reading diri as well as si-a is also attested in the meaning *mullû* "to fill," the sense in which we prefer to translate this line, viz. "It is a mountain built in an artful fashion that fills the water." "Mountain" here is obviously a metaphor for Enki's temple whose foundation reaches the subsoil water i.e. the Engur.

Finally, notwithstanding the fact that in Proto diri 5 i-zu-uz-zu-um is given as an equivalent for diri (=SI.A), there is no other clear example of diri in the meaning of izuzzum in other texts. Therefore, we do not use this meaning even if "stands in the water" makes excellent sense.

75. zà-ga-ni-a giš-gi ba-an-KU (textB), instead of zà-ga-ni giš-gi-a ba-an-KU in the other texts, could be understood as a scribal error. For zà(g) = aširtu "sanctuary (as a general designation of a temple, originally the cella)" see CAD A/2 436 ff. s.v. aširtu **A 1**; AHw 253^b f. s.v. ešertu(m) I.

In text I: LU for KU is probably a miscopy. Of the meanings of the verb KU (see MSL II 150 ff; SL 536), the two of most applicable are: nadûm "to lay," "to found," and wuṣṣûm "to spread out" see MSL ibid. 150 1 and 5 respectively. If nadûm is chosen, the meaning of the entire line would be "whose (Enki's) shrine is laid on a cane-brake."

76-77. For sa$_7$ (=SIG$_7$) = banû "to be pleasant" see CAD B 90^{b}f. s.v. banû B.

ḫáš = šabru "thigh," see ŠL 190, 6.

ḫáš-gal = pēmu "lap," see MSL IX line 201.

ḫaš$_4$ (ZUM) = šassūru "womb," see ŠL 555, 10.

The equivalents point to the fact that ḫaš/ḫaš$_4$ denotes the lower part of the stomach and the upper part of the legs. In other words, the area between the íb = *qablu* the "hip," and the du$_{10}$ = *birku* the "knee." E. I. Gordon, *BiOr* XII p. 129, note 55, translates ḫáš-gá (with the var. ḫaš$_4$-gá cited by him) as "my loin" instead of "my thighs" which gives a better meaning to the proverb quoted by him i.e.: nam-guruš (var. nam-guruš-mu) anše-kar-ra-gin$_x$ ḫáš-gá (var. ḫaš$_4$-gá) ba-tag$_4$ "(My) youthful vigour has quit my thighs like a runaway ass!" Cf. also *ELA* line 298: sún-gin$_x$ ḫáš-a-na mu-un-gur "Like a wild cow, he turned upon his thigh." In "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" (Kramer, *JCS* V p. 13, line 334): galla-e-ne ḫaš$_4$-a-na im-díb-bé-eš "The *galla*-demons seized him (*Dumuzi*) by his thigh." In the Akkadian version of "Istar's Descent" we read (Aššur version *KAR* 1 = *VAT* 9729 rev. 17): *im-ḫa-aṣ pe-en-ša it-ta-ša-ak ú-ba-an-šá* "She (Ištar) smote her thigh, (and) bit her finger," and in the Nineveh version (*CT* XV Pl.46 (:K 162) rev. 21 = ID 101): *tam-ḫa-aṣ ÚR-šá taš-šu-ka ú-ba-an-šá*. ÚR = *utlu*, *sūnu*, in the light of the preceeding version (i.e. Aššur version) must be read therefore *pēnša*^{ša}, cf. *MSL* IX line 201: uzu-úr = *pi-[e-mu]*

SMT (Kramer, *PAPS* vol. 107 no. 6) no. 2, where the poet gives a full description of Inanna's ornaments and jewells describes in sequence where on her body each is worn. The following are the sequential parts of her body mentioned in the text:

12:	sag-gá-na	"on her head"
13:	gú-bar-ra-na	"on her nape"
14:	síg-sag-gú-na	"in the hair of her head"

15:	geštug-na	"on her ears"
16:	ús-geštug-ga-na	"on her ear-lobes"
17:	igi$^{!}$-ni-a	"on her face"
18:	kiri$_3$-ni-a	"on her nose"
19:	KA-kuš-na	(?)
20:	li-dur-ra-na	"on her navel"
21:	íb-íb-a-ni	"about her hips"
22:	ḫaš$_4$-na	"on her thigh"4)
23:	gal$_4$(= SAL)-la-na	"on her vulva"
24:	gìr-ru-na	"on her feet"

Moreover, in *CAD* E 36^{b} s.v. *ēdu*: ^{d}Asal-lú-ḫi ḫáš-tibir (= ZAG x KU)-ra bí-in-ra giš-šinig AŠ š[u bí-in-ti] = [^{d}*Mar*]*duk šaparšu imḫaṣma bīnu e-du i*[*l-qi*] "Marduk smote his hip and took a single tamarisk." *šaparšu* in the light of the previous discussion must be rendered by "his thigh" rather than "his hip." Cf. finally, ḫáš in a difficult context (Kramer, "Enki and Ninḫursaga" *BASOR* Supl. Stud. 1, line 187): ^{d}nin-ḫur-sag-ga$^{?}$ a ḫáš-ta ba-an-[ ].

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4) The line reads as follows: na$_4$-giš-nu$_{11}$-gal-zalag-ga in-pà-dè ḫaš$_4$-na mu-un-gá-gá "She (Inanna)" picks bright alabaster, puts it on her anus." "On her thighs" would make better sense here. Kramer's translation apparently was based on *ŠL* 555, 3: ḫaš$_4$ = *arkatu*. The Sum. sign in this lexical reference is actually egir which fits *arkatu* "rectum" rather than ḫaš$_4$.

To sum up, the translation "to brood" for the expression ḫaš$_4$—— gá-gá, is conjectured from the literal meaning of lines 76-77 i.e. "In its (the temple's) pleasant garden, the birds put their thighs down." In addition, text R$_1$ adds: gi$_6$ "at night", i.e. mušen-e gi$_6$ ḫaš$_4$-bi mu-un-gá-gá.

78-80. Three different kinds of fish are mentioned here: suḫur^{kua}, gu$_4$-ud^{kua} (var. gud^{kua}) and kua-i-zi (var. izi). According to M. Civil, *Iraq* XXIII p. 170; *MSL* VIII/2 pp. 97-100, both the suḫur^{kua} = *purādu* and gu$_4$-ud^{kua} = ^{a}/*ersuppu* are typical dwellers of the ambar = *appāru* "the watery marsh." Cf. *CAD* A/2 307^{b} s.v. *arsuppu* (*ersuppu*): ambar-ra gu$_4$-ud^{kua} suḫur^{kua} = *appāra ar-su-up-pi u pu-r*[*a-di*]. Against *MSL* *op*. *cit* p. 98, the term *arsuppu* is not equivalent only to gu$_4$-ud^{kua}, but also to GUD$^{\text{eš-ṭu-ub}}$, cf. *CAD*. *loc*. *cit* : GUD $^{\text{eš-ṭu-ub}}$KU$_6$ (var. kud-da-ku$_6$) = [šeš-ṭu-ub] GUD ku$_6$ = eš-tu-ub GUD. As for the identification of these two species, according to *MSL* *op*. *cit*. p. 99, eštub is the "river carp," and gud(a) is the "marsh carp".

The suggested identification of the suḫur^{kua} with species of *Barbus* ("barbel") see M. Civil, loc. cit p. 170: "a fish with two barbels on each side of the mouth, because of the mention of the 'beards' in the preceding line i.e. 69 ". In other words, Civil reads line 69 as follows: su$_6^{!?}$-šag$_5$šag$_5$ ú-làl KA-K[A] with note 1 stating: "we must expect kú rather than KA (collated)." Therefore, he translates the line with "The one who (has) nice 'beards', eats the sweet plants." Judging from the text where this line is best preserved (i.e *UET* VI/1 46, 3) which reads as follows: nag-ša$_6$-ša$_6$ ú-làl ḲA-ḲẠ "The one who [...]s nice drinks, (and) sweet plants". Accordingly, the identification of the *purādu* fish with the "barbel" and then with the Arabic species of fish "*gaṭṭān*" is excluded since there is no "beard" mentioned in the line just discussed. Besides, the "*gaṭṭān*" fish has no "barbels" on either side of its mouth.

The third type of fish, as was previously stated, is the kua-i-zi (var. izi). According to *MSL* VIII/2 p. 101, 17, 18 we read the following:

[izi] kua = *nu-ú-nu i-šá-ti* "fish which is broiled on fire."
[izi-t]a-ná-a kua = *ditto* *ti-im-ri* "fish which is laying on ashes."

The izi-kua and the Akkadian *nūnu išāti* found in *MSL* VIII/2 p. 101, 17 as well as the izi-kua mentioned in the Urukagina inscriptions (which are cited together with our line in *MSL* *ibid* p. 101, 17 note 1). In this instance the citation of our line is not relavent since those fish are dead and ours are alive.

Th. Jacobsen (*JNES* V p. 140) treats kua-i-zi in our line as a verbal complex, and therefore he translates it by "the fishes rose." In so doing, we expect <ì>-as the thematic particle and not i-. i = ì occurs, however in *Lugale* line 254 old version = *Lugale* V 25 late version:

old version: lú-erím-e i-zi dam dumu-bi gù ba-an-dé

late version: [lú-erí]m zi dam dumu-bi gù ba-an-dé
a-a-bu te-bu-ú aššatsu u mārašu is-ṣi-ma

According to the most recent publication (Å. Sjöberg, *TH* no. 22 commentary to line 279) where our line is quoted and translated, i-zi = *agû*, *sabi'u* means "flood," "waves". This translation is well fitted for this context. In addition, the variant izi in the other texts must be considered as a phonetic writing for i-zi. For further treatment of i-zi see the reference just cited.

It is to be noted that it is inexplicable that in all other texts the expression was written as izi^{kua} whereas in our text as kua-i-zi/izi. In addition, in L. Oppenheim's *CE* we find the following: ku$_6$-bil (see *ibid* A 4^c on p. 8 and G 15 on p. 70); ku$_6$-b[íl] (see *ibid* 34 III 18 on p. 56). The translation given by Oppenheim is "fresh fish." One must wonder whether -bil(=NE, IZI) is a misprint for the restored sign -**bíl**(=**G** IBIL) or *vice versa*. Actually the whole matter needs further collation. If the reading would turn to be kua-bil, then we would have another text where the word order is similar to ours: kua-izi.

As for the association of the suḫur^{kua} with the ú-làl-plant, cf. M. Civil, *loc. cit* line 69; Kramer, *EWO* line 96 and the commentary to lines 96-97 on p. 248. For ú-làl, cf. *idem*. "Enki and Ninḫursaga" (*BASOR* Supl. Stud. 1 p. 189: [ú-làl im-ma]-an-mú "[The honey-plant spro]uted," *ibid*. line 203: lugal-mu ú-làl mu-na-ab-bé "My king, the 'honey'-plant, he says to him". Cf. also *UET* VI/1 76 rev. 14; *ibid* 77 rev. 8.

The compound verb e-ne—è (var. -e) in line 78, which is translated in *MSL* VIII/2 p. 98 "to play [a game]," seems to be another variant of the verb e-ne—du$_{11}$ (-du$_{11}$) (var.-di) = *mēlulu* N "to play," see *AHw* 644 s.v. *mēlulu(m)*; also "to dance," see Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 112 commentary to line 10 (with the var. a-ne-di). See also Römer, *SKI* p. 173 with references.

For gi-zi = *kīsu*, a kind of reed, see *AHw* 487 s.v. *kīsu(m)* I; M. Civil, *loc*. *cit*. For the reading of TUR.TUR as di$_4$-di$_4$ see Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 19 commentary to line 5 (with var. di-di), p. 32 commentary to line 3, p. 106 f. commentary to line 11; *MSL* VIII/2 p. 98 (reads: -didi-, note that our translation of lines 78-79 is based on this reference). For gi-zi-di$_4$-di$_4$-lá cf. Kramer, *EWO* lines 97, 163 (see also Falkenstein *ZANF* XXII p. 46); *UMBS* V 15, 18: urí^{ki}-ma gi-zi-di$_4$-di$_4$-lá nus$_x$ (=NUNUZ) ki ḫa-ba-ni-in-tag "In Ur, in the small zi-reeds, (the fish) has laid eggs"; *MNS* I p. 160 commentary to line 29.

kun—sù (-sù) means literally "to stretch the tail", see Salonen, *Hippologica* p. 283; *SRT* 13, 52 *UMBS* X/4 abv. 10; Langdon *BL* I 24: A. Falkenstein, *ZANF* XVI p. 64, 17; *TMHS NF* III 20 obv. I 27. The translation "adorns itself for him" is conjectured from the above literal meaning.

Finally, the collation of texts A, G and J shows that the sign following i-zi is actually -éš and not -šu. (Note that text R$_1$ also has -éš, whereas PP omits it, this shows that this sign is not part of the verbal complex as Th. Jacobsen suggests *JNES V* p. 140 i.e. šu ___ zi(g)). The translation of kua i-zi-éš na-zi(g), therefore, would be "the fish rise against the waves for him (Enki)."

81. u$_6$-e =*tabrātu* "marvels," "wonders," "admiration." Cf. *Gud* Cyl. BI 4: ḫur-sag-nisi-ga u$_6$-e gub-ba "Beautiful mountain which is standing there marvellously." This term is attested in different forms: u$_6$ (var. u$_4$) cf. *UMBS* X/4 3 rev. II 20 = 4 rev. 27; u$_6$-di

cf. Falkenstein, *ZANF* XV 112, 40; *ibid*. 137; *Gud*. Cyl. A XXIV 25; *SEM* 17, 6; *SRT* 11, 21; *SLTNi* 79 obv. 12; Falkenstein, *SAHG* p. 17; *TCL* XVI 48, 16; Th. Jacobsen and Kramer, *JNES* XII p. 178 rev. 155; *MBI* 3 II 12; *UET* I no. 70, 20; no. 122, 23; no. 125, 31; no. 131, 40; no. 289, 21-22; *CBS* 19767 IV 24 (unpublished): bíl-gurun-na-sig$_7$-ga u$_6$-di ḫi-li-gùr-ru (:*ZANF* V 258 no. 15). Cf. also Kramer, *EWO* lines 239, 443; Hrozný, *Ninrag*, Pl. IV (: K 38) rev. 25/28 (: n-gim-dím-ma III): u$_6$-di gub-ba = *ana tabrâti izzazzu*. Besides, itis also attested as u$_6$-di-di cf. *JCS* I 14, 90; *Gud* Cyl. A XX 23; A XXIV 17, 25; B I 21; *SRT* 6 I 2; Kramer, *ELA* line 355.

82. ḫúl (-la) - túm, Akkadian, *ḫidūta šakānu* "to make merry" cf. line 116 of this text: ^{d}en-líl nibru^{ki}-a ḫúl-la mu-ni-ib-túm "(Then) they made Enlil happy in Nippur". Cf. also *UET* VI/1 80 obv. 5: šà-an-na-ke$_4$ ḫúl-la ma-ab-túm "An's heart has brought me joy"; *Gud* Cyl. B IX 20: lugal-bi ^{d}nin-gír-su ḫúl-la túm-mu-da "dass sie ihren König Ningirsu in Freude versetzen" (*SAHG* p. 173).

83. The infix-da- in the verbal complex ní mu-un-da-gál must be translated by "with him (i.e. Enki)", cf.
MSL IV 70, 60: mu-da-gál = *na-ši-a-ku* "I carry" Sum. "It is with me." It is to be noted that texts A, E, R$_1$, Z, AA, MM and PP have a-ab-ba-ka, whereas only texts B and H have a-ab-ba-gin$_x$. The last variant, however, seems to give better meaning *viz*. "like the sea" rather than "at the sea," since both the sea and Enki are known throughout Sumerian literature for their awe-inspiring nature.

84. For su-zi——ri, see A. Falkenstein *ZANF* XIV p. 76 note 12 (: *SRT* 6

IV 18); *idem*. *SAHG* p. 136; G.R. Castellino, *RSO* XXXII p. 18 line 29 (: *SRT* 36, 29); *STVC* 38 obv. 4 and the dupl. *SEM* 56 obv. 14 (where this text introduces the variant su -zi—gál for su-zi—ri "to be full of awe"; *VAS* X/2 199 obv. 36. Obviously, the subject here is still Enki, who, as previously stated, is full of splendour and awe like the great river. i_7-maḫ "the great river" here must refer, taking into consideration the following line, to the Euphrates.

As for the variant -àm (text B) for the locative -a cf. A. Falkenstein, *GSGL* II p. 34 no. 5 (: *Gud* Cyl. A XVII 29): ù-te(n)-àm é-libir-ra-áš rá-zu-a ba-gin "Am abend ging er in Gebeten zum Alten Haus." Cf. also lines 8, 104. Text H, on the other hand, has i_7-maḫ-gin_x "like the great river," a translation which is preferable by the writer.

85. Th. Jacobsen, *loc*. *cit*. p. 140, considers u_x-lu-šúr "the heavy south wind" as the subject instead of the Euphrates, and therefore he translates our line by "While at the same time the South-wind stirred the depths of the Euphrates."

86. For giš-gi-muš = *gimuššu*, *parīsu* "punting pole," see *CAD* G 78 s.v. *gimuššu*; *AHw* 289^b s.v. *gimuššu* "Ruderstange;" Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge* p. 102 "oar"; M. Civil, *Iraq* XXIII p. 170 (where he refers to our line, see also note 13 there with references). Cf. also, *UMBS* X/2 6, 27 (: G. R. Castellino, *ZA NF* XVIII p. 17); *IV R* 25 I 16 (a text describing the ship of Enki-Ea): giš-BULUG-bi (var.-muš- for -BULUG-); W. G. Lambert, *BWL* p. 274 (: "rudder"). ^{d}MUŠ "the snake-god" here with the reading *imdudu* which is written syllabically in texts A and AA: im-du-du (without the determinative

"dingir"), is seemingly an epithet for Enki's punting pole. For both ^{d}MUŠ (: ^{d}niraḫ)5) as well as ^{d}im-du-du see *Gud*. Cyl. A XXVII 1: ^{d}NIRAḪ-gin$_{x}$ šà-bi šu ḫé-en-sur-re-eš = *ki-ma (ditto) libba-šu a-ja i-né-eš* "wie der (den) Schlangengott soll sein Inneres ...."; *BE* VIII/1 142, 8 (: W. G. Lambert, *AfO* XVIII/2 388, 8): *^{d}im-du-du mut-t[al-l]i-ku šá šamê^{e} u erṣetim^{tim}* "Imdudu, who per[amb]ulates through heaven and earth"6); Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* p. 327. Cf. also *ŠL* 374, 4 where ^{d}MUŠ = sa-ḫa-an; *MSL* IV 5, 19: ^{d}še-ra-aḫ = ^{d}MUŠ (= niraḫ). For the alternation N (^{d}niraḫ)/ Š (^{d}šeraḫ), see Poebel, *ZANF* IV p. 84f.

87. For giš-gisal (= BI. IZ) = *gišallu* "rudder" see *CAD* G 99f. s. v. *gišallu*; *AHw* 292^{a} s. v. *gišallu(m)*; Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge* 107 "Ruderdulle$^{?}$." Cf. also *EWO* 111: KA-ra-e-ne giš-gisal šu ša-ma-an-du$_{7}$-uš "the callers make the oars draw in unison."

In text B however, where DI$^{?}$/KI$^{?}$-ḪU-[t]ur-tur-ra-ni, and text H: ki-bi-x [ ], were written for gi-tur-tur-a-ni, unless they are a miscopy, they are actually inexplicable.

88. For u$_{5}$ = *rakābu* "to ride," "to board," (said of ship) see A. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 49 commentary to line 10. For ḫé-gál sù-ga see the commentary to line 50.

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5) In the list of fish MSL VIII/2 p. 7 (: Ḫḫ XIV 9), ^{d}MUŠ is listed as being the fish god:

muš ^{d}MUŠ = *ni-ra-ḫu.*

6) According to this text which deals with constellations, the mul-MUŠ (mentioned in *SLT* 214 rev. 6, 13 and *SLT* 236 rev. II 7 = *OECT* IV no. 161 V 28) must therefore, be read as mul-imdudu. Further refrences for mul-MUŠ are found in ŠL 4: 2 p. 112f. no. 284.

89. du$_8$: (Falkenstein, SAHG p. 136: "abfahren") is attested to with the Akkadian paṭāru "to loosen," "to untie."

For éš = ašlu "tow rope," see CAD A/2 447^b s.v. ašlu A 1. AHw 81^b s.v. aslu(m) 2 a); Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge p. 117 f.

It is to be noted that text Z reverses the line i.e.: ^{giš}má ní-ba nam-KU éš ní-ba nam-du$_8$, perhaps indicating confusion on the part of the scribe. Moreover, the general meaning of this line is somehow not clear to me, since the meaning of the verb KU and its connection with the éš "tow rope," is obscure.

For ní-ba "by itself," see the commentary to line 40.

90. kar = ekēmu "to take away," see CAD E 64^b f., s.v. ekēmu; AHw 194^a s.v. ekēmu(m)

= eṭēru "to take away," see CAD E 401^a s.v. eṭēru A; AHw 264^a s.v. eṭēru(m)I.

= na'rubu>nērubu "to leave," see ŠL 376^x, 13; Sumer, XI, Pl. 6, line 1: ka-ar(=kar) = ne-ru-bu-um.

= šūzubu "to make somebody to leave," see CAD E 416^{a}f. s.v. ezēbu 5

91. For ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ = rigma apālu "to give advice" see the commentary to line 14.

93. For gu$_4$——gaz = alpa(alpī)palāku "to slaughter the oxen," and udu-šár = immerāti duššû "to make sheep plentiful" see A. Falkenstein ZANF XVI p. 86 commentary to line 52 (: Šulgi A 52). Cf. also UMBS V 1 rev. V II; MNS I p. 141 commentary to line 1; Ni 9980 obv. 12 ("The Disputation between the Hoe and the Plow"): lugal-e gu$_4$ im-ma-ab-gaz-e [udu im]-ma-ab-šár-re.

94. ^{kuš}á-lá = *alû* "eine Trommel" see *AHw* 39 s.v. *alû* III; *CAD* A/1 377^{b}f. s.v. *alû* C "wooden drum." See also A. Falkenstein, *ZA NF* XVI p. 68, 53: á-lá (with var. ^{kuš}á-lá); *SRT* 1 III 8; *ibid.* 40, 9 (and dupl.) OB *lú* A247: lú-^{kuš}á-lá = *ša a-li-[e]*.

This musical instrument is written in the lexical texts as: giš-á-lá (and therefore *CAD* translates it by "wooden drum"), and kuš-á-lá (and therefore *CAD* translates it by "the wooden leather-covered drum). Accordingly, *CAD* (A/1 378^{a}) concludes, referring here to the determinative signs, that the Sumerian literary texts clearly differentiate between these and other musical instruments.

ki-bi-šè šá im-du$_{11}$, would correspond to *ana ašrišu šukšudu* "to let them come to their place." Note that text B brings forth the variant: ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi$_4$ "he (Enki) brought them back to their place." For ki-bi-šè —— gi$_4$ cf. A. Falkenstein, *GSGL* II 120 note 5; Kramer, *AS* XII lines 383, 384 and 423.

95. ÁB x KÁRA is attested with the readings šèm, ùb = *ḫalḫallatu*, a kind of drum, see *CAD* *Ḫ* 41 s.v. *ḫalḫallatu*. This musical instrument is usually accompanied with a determinative for metal i.e. urudu, zabar. For ub (= ùb),7) see *KAR* 16 rev. 15/16: ^{kuš}ub-kù = *ina uppi ebbi*. For further discussion on *ùb*, *šèm* -drum, see Å. Sjöberg, *TH* no. 8 commentary to line 107. The identification of the *ḫalḫallatu*-drum is as yet uncertain. According to *CAD*, *ibid.*, it "belongs to a group of tympanum drums exactly as the drums called *uppu*, *manzû*, and *lilissu*," (for more

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7) Cf. also *UMBS* V 25 col. VI 24: [bal] ag$^{?}$-kù li-li-is-kù ub me-zé ^{kuš}á-lá ba(-e-túm).

discussion see *CAD* s.v. *ḫalḫallatu*).

ki-bi-šè im-mi-in-è must be parallel to the previous line and therefore would correspond to the Akkadian *ana ašrišu šūṣû* lit. "to make them to go out to their place." In text Z, the presence of the sign DI encourages us to restore the line in the light of line 94 as follows: Á [B x KÁRA] UD [KA.BAR nu-gál-la k]i-bi-šè sá im-mi-[in-du$_{11}$].

97. gi-gun$_4$-na (var. gi-gunu$_4$ in text N) = *gigunû*, is a terraced sacred building, also "poetic designation of the temple tower." For further discussion, see *CAD* G 67^b ff. s.v. *gigunû*.

98. All texts have te = *ṭeḫû* "to approach," except text B which has -dé instead. In the general context of the line, and taking the other texts into consideration, -dé here must have another meaning than "to pour out" *viz*. cf. dé = *alāku* (see *AHw* 31^b s.v. *alāku(m)*) in the sense of "to go near," "to come," "to approach." If the verb dé equated with *alāku*, is according to *CAD* (A/1 300^b s.v. *alāku*) attested only in the *Eme-sal* form, then this meaning should be excluded for our line, since our text is not written in *Eme-sal*. It is possible however, that the scribe was influenced by the following line where ba-ni-in-dé means "to pour out." It must be noted that our translation "Enki stepped forward (to make) the beer, stepped forward (to prepare) the fine beer," is actually based on the process of beer-making described in the following lines which suggests that Enki started making the beer in this line. The literal translation however, (which gives the impression that the beer was already made) is: "Enki approached the

beer, approached the fine beer."

99. Notwithstanding the fact that Z is the only text that has gal-zabar- ra whereas texts A, B and H: gi-zabar(-ra) (var. gi$_4$-, in text II) and since gal-zabar is attested in the meaning "big bronze-containers," see H. Limet, *Le travail* (pp. 194, 195 obv. I 3, 196 rev. I 2, 206f. no. 34 where Limet cites many references for gal "big container" which is connected with the Akkadian *rabîtu*, cf. *V R* 42, 29C: ^{dug}gal = *ra-bi-t[um]*) see also *ŠL* 343, 15; *UET* III nos. 718, 741 (:gal-zabar), 877, 881, 882(:^{dug}gal), the variants gi/gi$_4$-zabar, however, must be synonymous with the gal- vessel and seemingly have nothing to do with the gi = *qanû* "reed" since the vessel under discussion is clearly identified in the text as being made of bronze. Note that the gal- containers are not only made of bronze but also of gold. Cf. *UET* III 335 (:gal-guškin).

100. For ulušin (=KAŠ.ÁŠ.AN) "emmer-wheat-beer" see *diri* V 226: ú-lu-ši-in = *ka-aš-zi-iz-a-a-nak-ku*; *ibid*. 427-428:

KAŠ.ÁŠ.AN = *ú-lu-ši-nu-um*
KAŠ.ÁŠ.AN = *di-zi-ib-tu-úḫ-ḫu*

The orthographical writing of ulušin in our text as well as in *UET* VI/1 104, 11: KAŠ.ÁŠ.AN-ku$_7$$^!$-da, conforms with that of *Proto-diri*. For *diziptuḫḫu/dišiptuḫḫu*, a kind of beer, see *CAD* 160^b s.v. *dišiptuḫḫu* 2. This beer according to *CAD* is made from emmer- wheat. Besides, it was of secondary quality, and its literal meaning is "syrup (*CAD*'s honey) of the (beer) dregs." For further discussion see *CAD* s.v. *dišiptuḫḫu* 2.

a-AŠ-a (texts H, II and most probably M); a-AŠ-àm (text

Z) and AŠ-àm (texts A x B) seem to prove the readings a-aš-a/a-aš-àm/aš-àm instead of dili-àm = *ištēniš*, *mitḫāriš* "altogether," "jointly," "at the same time," see *CAD* I/J 279^{b} f. s.v. *ištēniš*; *AHw* 400^{b} s.v. *ištē/īniš*; *ibid*. 661 f. s.v. *mitḫāriš* 4. For sur "to perform an action from which a liquid product results" see M. Civil, *Stud. -Opp*. p. 81 f. See also L. F. Hartman - L. Oppenheim, *Supp.- JAOS* X p. 48 note 68; A. Falkenstein, *Iraq* XXII p. 149 f. where he translates sur by "to mix" (see also *idem*., *SAHG* p. 136).

101. ^{dug}ku (var. kù, text Z) -kur-rú/dù, a type of container. According to I. J. Gelb, *MAD* III pp. 150-151, this kind of container which holds 90 *QA* cannot be identified with the word ^{DUG}*kur-kur-ra-tum*, since these last type of containers hold 7 *QA* each.

For duḫ (= GABA) "bran" see B. Landsberger, *OLZ* (1922) vol. XXV 8/9 p. 342 with note 1; *idem*. *WO* I p. 372 note 73; L. Oppenheim, *CE* p. 25 C 8^{a}; *ŠL* 167, 112 (: duḫ-a "Kleie"). In *OECT* IV 159 V lines 15-21 and the dupl. *SLT* 12 obv. 4 lines 1-8, we read the following kinds of bran:

duḫ	"bran".
duḫ-a	"bran," see also *ŠL*, just cited.
duḫ-babbar	"white bran" (var. duḫ-al-babbar, in *SLT*, just cited, line 4).
duḫ-sig$_{5}$	"good bran".
duḫ-du	(?)
duḫ-u$_{4}$-tab-ba	"The bran which has been burnt by sun-light,"

	for u$_4$-tab-ba = *ḫimiṭ ṣēti*, see *CAD* Ṣ 150^{b}f. s.v. *ṣētu*.
duḫ-ḫa-al-ḫa-al	(vars. duḫ-ḫa-ḫa-la, duḫ-ḫa-ḫa-la-du, *SLT*, previously cited, lines 6-7). Possibly it is the bran of the *halḫallu*-fruit/vegetables, for *ḫalḫallu*, see *CAD* Ḫ 42^a s.v. *ḫalḫallu* B.
duḫ-kaš-gi$_6$	"black bran for producing beer." For duḫ-gi$_6$ "black bran," see Landsberger, *loc*. *cit*., p. 342.

Cf. also M. Civil, "Dialogue between Two Scribes" line 40: a-nu kaš-nu duḫ-nu kaš-dida(=Ú.SA)-nu zì-nu zì-milla-nu túg-nu ^{túg}níg-dará-nu "There is no water nor (even) beer, there is no bran-mash nor (even) *dida*-beer, there is no flour nor (even) *milla*-flour, there are no clothes nor (even) a loincloth" (for a different interpretation see *CAD* B 228^a s.v. *billatu* 2.$^{\acute{2},4}$); Civil, *ibid*., line 42: kaš-tuku duḫ-nu-tuku zì-tuku in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$ nu-tuku "(And now, when) you have beer, you have no bran-mash, (and when) you have flour, you have no straw (to use it for baking)." Cf. also CBS 9804 + , rev. 1 17; 11 10; Ni 9624 obv. 6; UM 29.15.629 obv. (:"Nanna's Journey to Nippur," a Ph. D. dissertation being prepared by A. J. Ferrara). 13 : duḫ im-ma-ab-sal-e "He (Nanna) spreads out the bran-mash (in preparing the beer)". For the verb sá-sá = *šutaḫḫuqu* "to mix liquids," see *CAD* Ḫ 86^b s.v. *ḫâqu* A v. (1).

102. For ní-gìr(>ir$_9$) ——ak = *gitmālu* "noble," "perfect," see *CAD* G 110^b f. s.v. *gitmālu* 2. It is to be noted, that A is the only text that has ní-ir$_9$ —— ak, whereas texts H, M, Z, II and KK have nì- for ní-. On the other hand, text B introduces an inexplicable variant, i.e.: nì-ir$_9$! —— dé.

103. še$_x$, šed$_7$ (= MÙŠ.DI)= *kaṣû* "to be cold," "to be cool," see *AHw* 459^a s.v. *kaṣû(m)* III. For du$_8$ (and the phonetic variant du$_{11}$ in texts Z, II and KK) = *kamāru* "to heap up," see *AHw* 430^b s.v. *kamāru(m)* III,-"to spread out," however, is a conjectured translation required by the general context. For further discussion on the process of cooling off the beer-mash by spreading it on reed mats, see M. Civil, *Stud.-Opp.* p. 79. It is to be noted that the elliptic style with which our poet composed the text is demonstrated by the absence of mentioning anything related to cooking, which is necessary for beer-making. For aš-a (var. a-aš in text B) "all of," "altogether," see our commentary to line 100.

Note that the variant nì-lu-lu introduced by text B, is most probably mishearing on the part of the scribe for nì-làl-làl (var. nì-làl-la, in texts M, A, KK) "syrupy substance."

104. For èš-e nibru^{ki}-àm(var.-a), see the commentary to line 8, For the locative -àm(<-a-àm), see the commentary to line 84. Note that text A and possibly B have ad-e, ad-, here, is most probably a scribal error for èš-, since both signs are similar to each other.

105. ninda mu-un-kú-e, translated by us "he made a banquet," is literally: "he (Enki) let him (Enlil) eats bread."

106. ki-maḫ "lofty place," is the place of honor on which the most distinguished guest was seated, in particular An. See Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 59 commentary to line 11 (and for the synonymous noun zà-gal see the commentary to line 108). See also Römer, *SKI* p. 178 commentary to line 128; J. Klein, *Šulgi* X commentary to line 157.

107. For the dative -ra with the verb ús, meaning "to sit next to someone," see *Gud*. Cyl. B XIX 19-21:
an-ra ^{d}en-líl im-ma-ni-ús "(Ningirsu) seated Enlil next to An,"
^{d}en-líl-ra ^{d}nin-maḫ mu-ni-ús "he seated Ninmah next to Enlil."

108. For zà-gal, referring to the place of honor, see Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 63 note 3; J. Klein, *Šulgi* X commentary to line 157, Cf. also *Gud*. Cyl. B XIX 18: an zà-gal-la mu-na-tuš "(Ningirsu) seated An on a 'big side' next to him;" Kramer, *Schooldays* line 53: é-a ù-mu-ni-in-ku$_4$ zà-gu(var. -gal)-la bí-in-tuš "(The teacher) having entered the house, he was seated in the seat of honor," (for zà-gu-la, a kind of chair, see Landsberger *apud* Kramer, *ibid*., *JAOS* LXIX p. 214.) Cf. also W. G. Lambert, *BWL* p. 235. K. 4327+ obv. I 1-3 (= *STVC* 4 obv. I 9: kaš-kašbir ga-nag zà-gal-la ga-tuš): ka[š-kašbir-a] g[a]-a[n]-n[ag] zà-gal-la [ga-tuš] = [.......] [*lu-uš-t*]*i-ma ina rab-ba-a-*[*ti*] [*lu-šib*] "Let me drink [diluted] beer, let me sit in splendour," (note that the translation "in spendour" was based on the Akkadian *ina rabbâti*). For zà-gu-la, cf. also the following references: *Ḫḫ* IV 198: giš-banšur -zà-gu-la = *paššūr sak-*[*k*]*i*; *KAR* 50, 15: zà-gu-la-bi = *eširtišu* (for *eširtu* "sanctuary" see *CAD* A/2 436^{a} f. s.v. *aširtu* A; *AHw* 253 s.v. *ešertu*); *Erimḫuš* VI

188: zà-gu-la = *sa-a-gu*; *ŠL* 332, 79 (: zà-gú-lá); *YOS* IV 226, 10; see in particular *BE* VI/2 26 I 15 (also III 20): giš-banšur-zà-gu-la = *paššūr sak-[k]i* (cf. *Hh*, previously cited).

109. For ki-ús-ki-ús-bi "their places," cf. *ŠL* 461, 133a): ki-ús-sa = *makānu* "place." ki-ús-ki-ús-bi (var. -šè) ši-im-mi-in-dúr-ru-ne-eš "they seated themselves," literally means "they (the Anunna) sat down in their seats."

110. In the previous lines, and after Enki has finished the whole preparations for the feast which took place in the temple in Nippur, he began to seat the deities. The word lú-e-ne here, must be understood not literally as "the men," but rather as, "the divine waiters," who were waiting on the banquet at the time it was in progress.

It is to be noted that the variant nì-du$_{10}$-ge-ne in text A is undoubtedly a scribal error for im-du$_{10}$-ge-ne. Besides, the plural ending in the verbal complex in text B i.e.: íb-ni!-du$_{10}$-ge-eš, is unjustifiable, since du$_{10}$ = *ṭābu* "to sweeten," "to make good," is a transitive verb, and therefore the plural ending must be:-e-ne (as in texts A, M, W and II) and not -e-eš. For kurún im-du$_{10}$(g) "to sweeten the fine beer," cf. *Lugale* I 19: kurún (= KAŠ.TIN) nam-du$_{10}$-ga-e-da-na = *kurunna ina šuṭubbīšu*; *EWO* line 257. Cf. also line 114 and 110 of this text as well as *UMBS* I/11(: CBS 13571) col. II line 26.

111. Here again, our poet tells us of more magnificent preparations that the divine waiters made for the banquet, namely by preparing enormously large bronze vessels to serve the assembled

deities. The name given in our text for these vessels is zab[illegible] MIR.[8] No meaning, as yet, is known for this kind of vessels. It is possible however, to assume that they are a kind of large bronze trays used for serving food in the banquets. For zabar, a bronze object, see H. Limet, Le travail p. 234. Note that this line also occurs in UMBS I/11(:CBS 13571) col. II line 27. For gur_4-gur_4 = kabāru, kubburu, "to be very big," "to be very fat," "to be enormously large," see AHw 515^a s.v. kabāru(m).

112. This line is crucial indeed, for it is difficult to determine which is the subject here, the zabar, Uraš or a third party. It would seem that the assembled gods must be the subject here since one would expect that only a deity could incite Uraš to start a contest at the time they were drinking. It is to be noted, that, as a result of the elliptic style of this composition, our poet left us ignorant of the nature of the contest as well. a-da-man = tēṣītu, šutēṣû, ultēṣû, kalû ša zamāri, e-du-tum (see van Dijk, SSA p. 31 and references). For a-da-man-e, cf. ELA line 461 (and line 476 where -di- is written for the infix -da-): ur-mu ur-a-ni a-da-man h̬é-em-da-e

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[8] Note that the sign copied erroneously in text A as íl, is actually MIR (collated).

"Let my dog fight against his dog"1); "The Disputation between the Hoe and the Plow," line 39: [x] níg-si-ga a-da-man mu-e; Römer, SKI p. 130 line 64: ešemen (=KI.A.NE.DI) gu-DU-gùn-a a-da-man mu-na-e, see also the commentary to this line on p. 164 with references. For the variant a-da-man —— è (text A) cf. van Dijk, SSA p. 34 (where he quotes SEM 17 rev. 10 f., and cites SEM 19 col. I 19): en-unu^{ki}-ga en-kullaba^{ki}-ra ur$_5$-bi a-da-man-na è(var. e-)-dè en-arratta en-suḫ-kéš-an-na-ke$_4$ .... "A fin de se disputer avec le seigneur d'Uruk et le seigneur de Kullab, les deux ensemble(?),
le seigneur d'Aratta Ensuḫkešanna......................."
The same compound verb is attested with a-da-man —— dè (texts O and R$_2$). For that cf. Kramer, SMT (PAPS vol. 107 no. 6) no. 6 lines 33-34: é-di[ngir]-dingir-[r]e-ne a-da-man mu-un-dè-ne

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9) Kramer (cited above) translates this line as follows: "Let my fighting-man hold a contest with his fighting-man." So far, the Sum. ur is attested only as kalbu, "dog." In a most recent article G. Komoróczy, "Zum Sumerischen Epos 'Enmerkar und der Herr von Herr von Aratta'", published in Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae XVI Fasicle 2-4 (Budapest 1968) p. 16 f., where Komoróczy considers lines 458-461 ELA as a riddle, and he translates ur there by "Wild." is translation goes as follows: "The wild animal is not black, the wild animal is not white, the wild animal is not brown, the wild animal is not gray, the wild animal is not yellow, the wild animal is not red, he (Enmerkar) will give you a wild animal, my wild animal will fight with your wild animal, It will prove that it is stronger."
In regard to contest and challenge between animals, cf. Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešanna line 126: ur-ra-ni ur-mu-da usu im-da-ab-ra, "His dog will try its strength with my dog."

^{d}utu-dè ^{d}nanna-dè a-da-man mu-dè-ne

"(Inanna) uttered a challenge in the house of the gods,

Uttered a challenge against Utu, against Nanna."

For the variant a-da-man ____ di/sá (text B) cf. van Dijk, *SSA* p. 32: adaman-DI, $^{sa-sa}$DI-DI, adaman-du$_{11}$-ga, adaman = *šutēṣû* (for further discussion see van Dijk, just cited).

113. For dug-ti-lim-da, see *MSL* VII p. 85, 175-176: dug-ti-lim-dù = *ti-lim-du-u*, dug-ti-lim-dù = *ti-li-ma-tú*; *MSL* VII p. 163, 107-108: ti-lim-dù zabar = ŠU, ti-lim-dù zabar = ŠU. *CT* XXXVI 41, 16: ti-lim-da-kù-ga a nu-dé-a-mu "in my holy *tilimda*-vessel no water is poured," a passage that shows that the *tilimda* is a vessel for water (seemingly for lustration); *CT* XLII no. 30, 6: i$_7$-*a-ra-aḫ-tum* i$_7$-buranun-na! ti-lim-da-dingir-gal-[gal-e-ne] a-nam-ti-la dé-dè-à [m] "the Araḫtum and the Euphrates (are) a *tilimda*-vessel, which pours out the water of life"; *UMBS* V 26, 2 (Gudam) ti-lim-da má-gur$_8$-kù im-bi-bi-re (for *UMBS* V 25, 1-2, see above in the commentary to line 111); note the parallelism to our line: ti-lim-dù can also be made of silver, see *MSL* VII p. 166, 201-202 ti-lim-dù kù-babbar. See finally *IVR* 13, 2, 58-59: dug-ti-lim-du-dadag-ga a-sikil-la {-ta} nag-ab = *ina* DUG ti-lim-du *elleti mê ellūti šiti*. Note that this line also occurs in *UMBS* I/1 1 (:CBS 13571) col. II line 28.

Writings point to the reading ba-ba-re-ne = babbar-re-ne, which means "they (the waiters) made (the vessels) shine."

The connection between the *ti-lim-da*-vessel and the *magur*-boat in this line seems to point out the simile between their shapes. In MNS I p. 27 commentary to line 41: má-gur$_8$-kù-an-na "the holy ship of heaven" is to be understood as a reference to the moon in its first phase, i.e. "crescent" which resembles the shape of the magur-boat. Besides, both the magur-ship and the moon are glittering cf. MNS just cited: má-gur$_8$-an-na-gin$_x$ zalag-ga-zu-šè "when you shine like the magur-ship of heaven." Moreover, the occurrence of zabar-má(var.-^{giš}má)-gur$_8$ (see MSL VII OB Forerunner to Ḫḫ XII p. 231 line 5) shows that the bronze vessels are called so because of the similarity in their shape with that of the magur-ship.

114. du$_{11}$ here, must mean "to prepare," "to make." or this see Th-Dangin, ZA XVII p. 198^1; Römer SKI p. 162 commentary to line 55 with references.

115. -ra-, in the verbal phrase is an ablative infix. As shown, for instance, in Gud. Cyl. A VI 16 and A VII 14, gar with the infix -ta- means "to remove," "to take out." The translation of this line, due to the obscurity involved remains uncertain.

116. For ḫúl-la —— túm "to make merry," "to make happy," see the commentary on line 82.

118. ì-su$_8$-ge-en-za-na <ì-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-en-zé-en-a (: ì-su$_8$-su$_8$(g)-enzen-a: 2nd preterit Plural + relative pronoun -a), cf. Gud. Cyl. B II 6: KA x ŠU ḫé-mi-sa$_4$-za <ḫé-mi-sa$_4$-(en)ze(n) "may he therefore say (his) prayer." The variant ì-su$_8$-ge-eš-za-na seems to be a mixed form of ì-sùg + eš (3rd intransitive plural ending) + (en) zé-(e)n-a (2nd plural + a, the relative pronoun). Finally, the verbal complex ì-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-za-na would be equated, according

to Å. Sjöberg (*Father-Son* commentary to line 102), with the Akkadian *tazzazzā* since su$_8$(g) = *u-zu-uz* (for further discussion and references see A. Sjoberg, just cited).

119. For si —— sá = *ešēru* "to go straight toward," see *CAD* E 352^b f. s.v. *ešēru* 1. NE, in text B: si bí-in-sá-NE-en, is unjustifiable unless we consider it mishearing on the part of the scribe *viz.* si bí-in-sá-izi-en < si bí-in-sá-(en)-zé-en.

121. The verb -ri in ki-ta ba-ra-ri, in view of the variant (text PP): [ki] -ta ba-ra-è, must mean "to cause to go out." See also A. Falkenstein, *SGL* I p. 43 where he quotes and translates our line.

125. For the compound verb si —— sá with musical instruments meaning "to let the musical instrument play music correctly," see Å. Sjöberg, *MNS* I p. 101 commentary to line 28 with references. For nam-šub = *šiptu* "incantation," "spell," see *ŠL* 79, 48 a). The variant nam-giš-šub (text N) which means "alloted destiny" see G. Castellino, *ZANF* XIX p. 109 line 19 (: *SRT* 11, 19) : nam-giš-šub-galam-ma-na ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ é-e ul ba-ni-in-sig$_7$-ga "By his alloted high destiny, Enki lavishes beauty on the temple" does not seem to fit the context. -giš- in our variant may very will be a scribal error.

Part III.

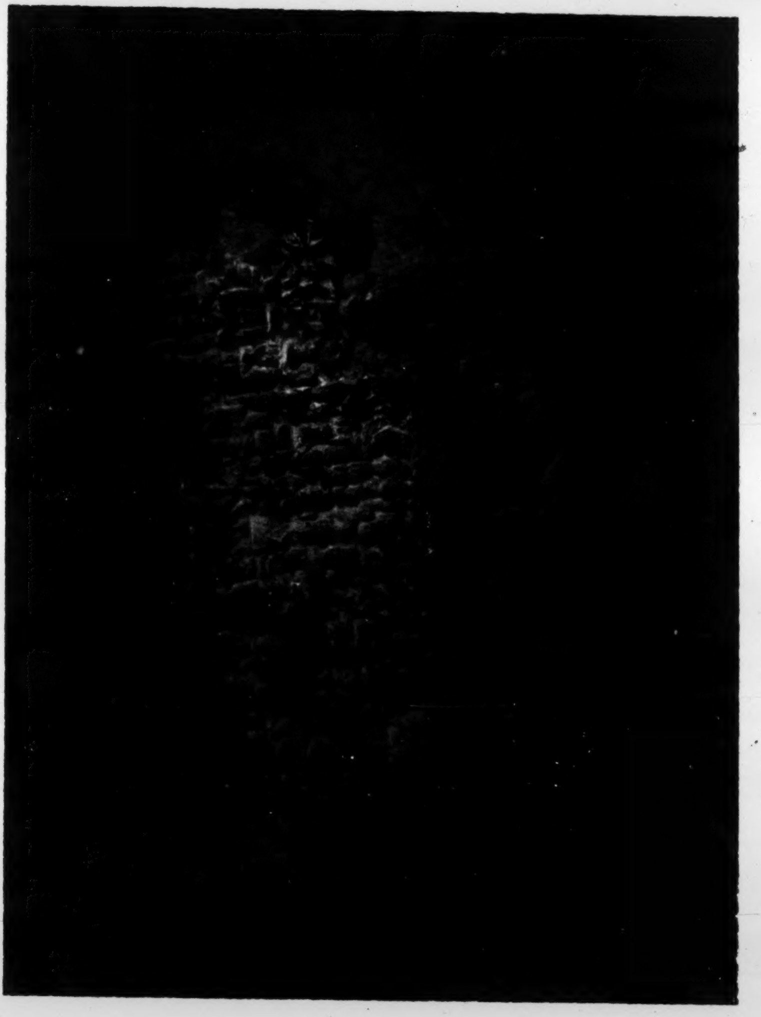
1. INDEX OF THE PLATES

Text	Museum Number	Plate
EE (obv.)	CBS 2167	I.
EE (rev.)	ditto	II.
FF (obv.)	CBS 2216	III.
FF (rev.)	ditto	IV.
FF (rev., lower edge)	ditto	V.
HH (obv.)	CBS 10314	VI.
HH (rev.)	ditto	VII.
II (obv.)	CBS 10350	VIII.
II (obv., right edge)	ditto	IX A
II (obv., right edge)	ditto	IX B
II (rev.)	ditto	X.
JJ (obv.)	UM 29-13-207	XI.
JJ (obv., right edge)	ditto	XII.
JJ (rev.)	ditto	XIII.
LL (obv.)	UM 29-16-184	XIV.
LL (obv., right edge)	ditto	XV.
LL (rev.)	ditto	XVI.
NN (obv.)	N 3515	XVII.
NN (obv., right edge)	ditto	XVIII.
NN (rev.)	ditto	XIX.

Text	Museum Number	Plate
OO (obv.)	N 4183	XX.
OO (rev.)	ditto	XXI.
PP (obv.)	N 4182	XXII.
PP (obv., right edge)	ditto	XXIII.
PP (rev.)	ditto	XIV.

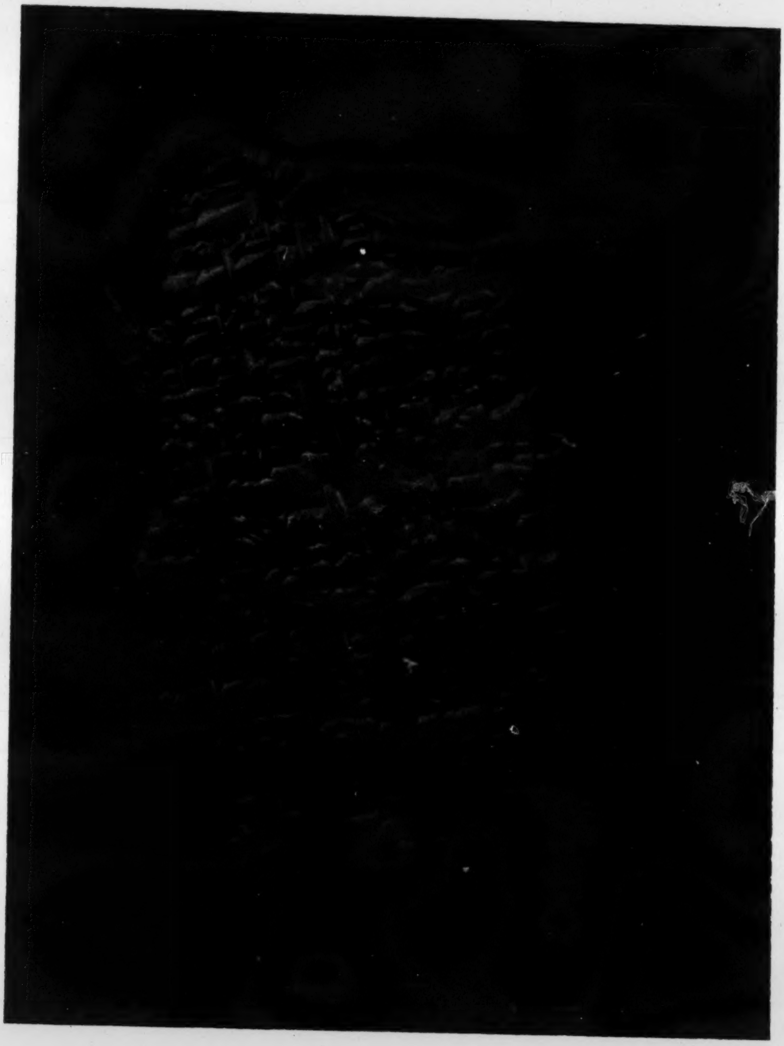
2. THE PLATES

PLATE -I-



EE Obverse

(CBS 2167)



EE Reverse

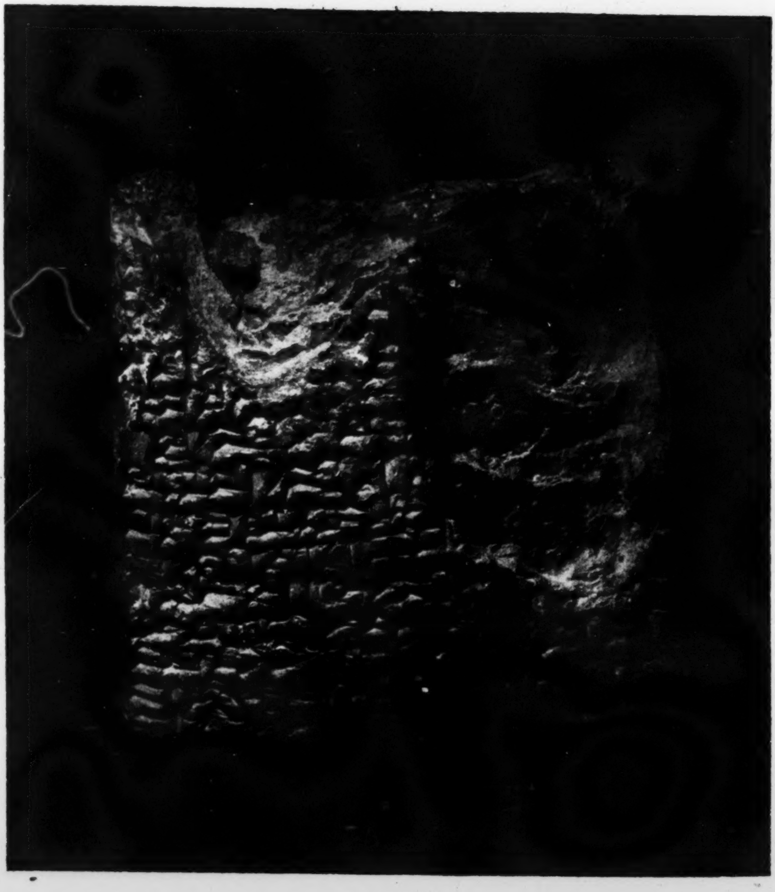
(CBS 2167)

PLATE -III-

FF Obverse

(CBS 2216)

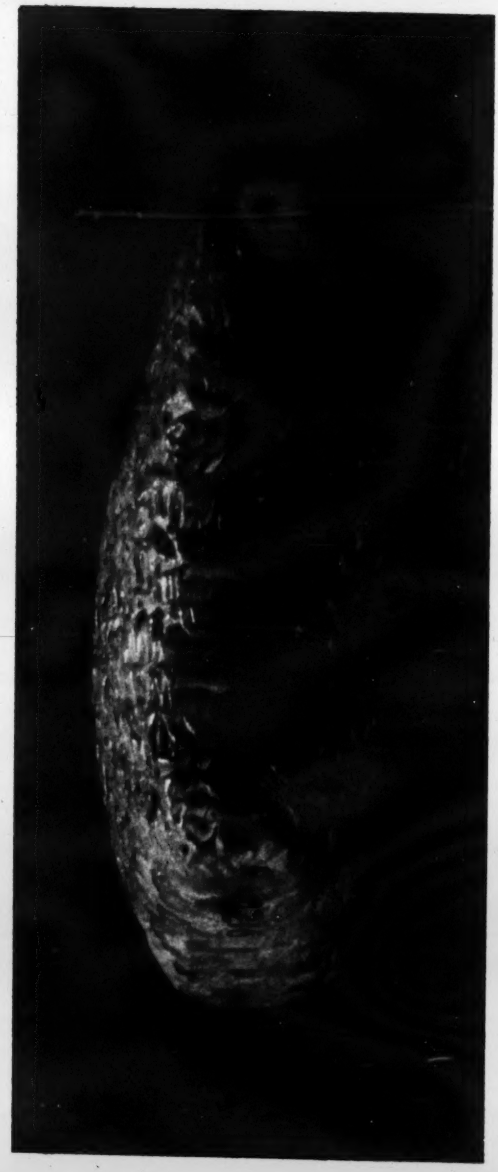
PLATE -IV-



FF Reverse

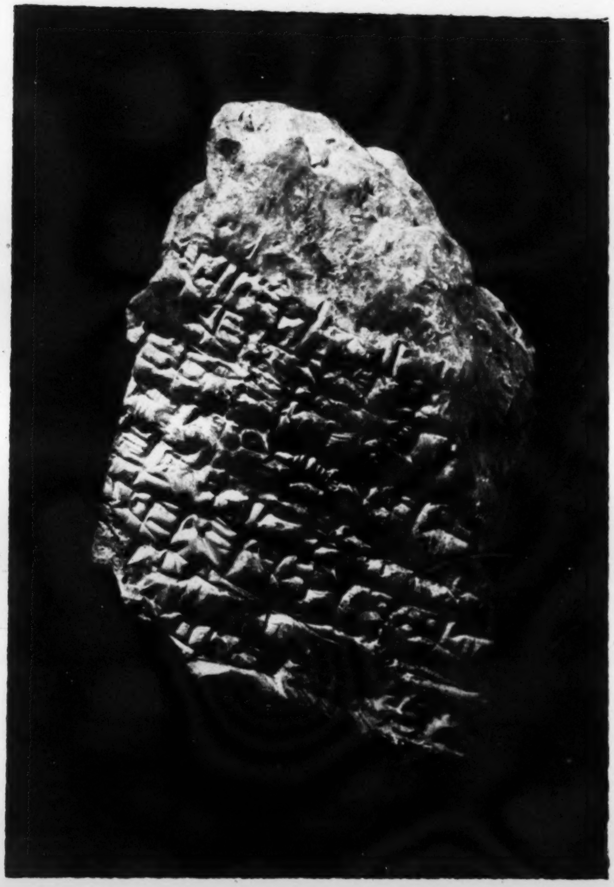
(CBS 2216)

PLATE -V-



FF Rev.(Lower Edge)

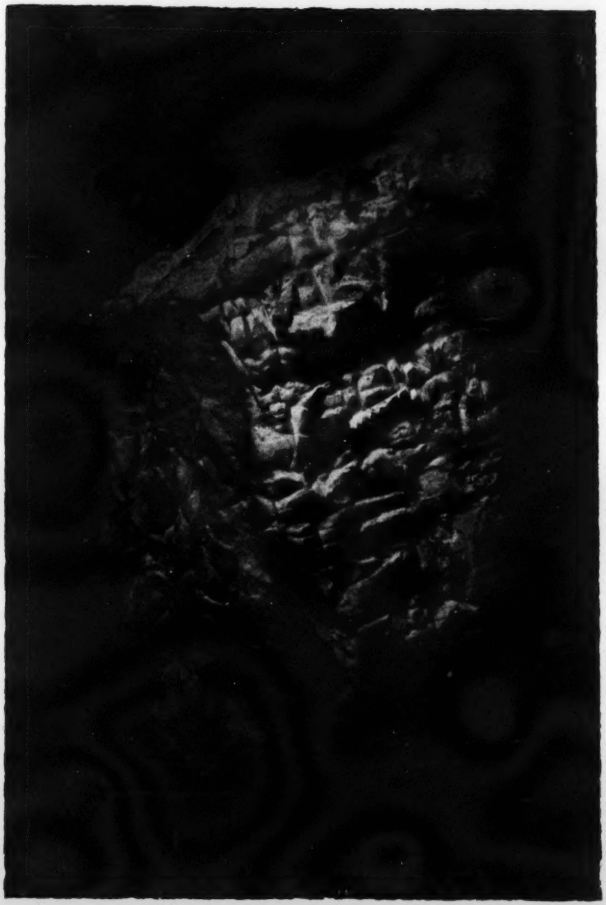
(CBS 2216)



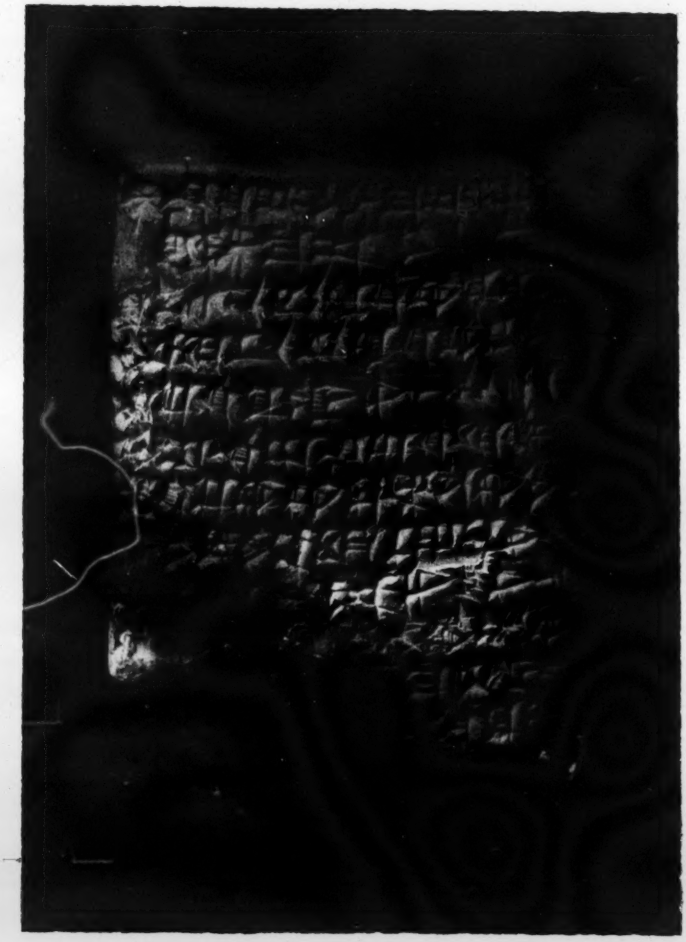
HH Obverse

(CBS 10314)

PLATE -VII-

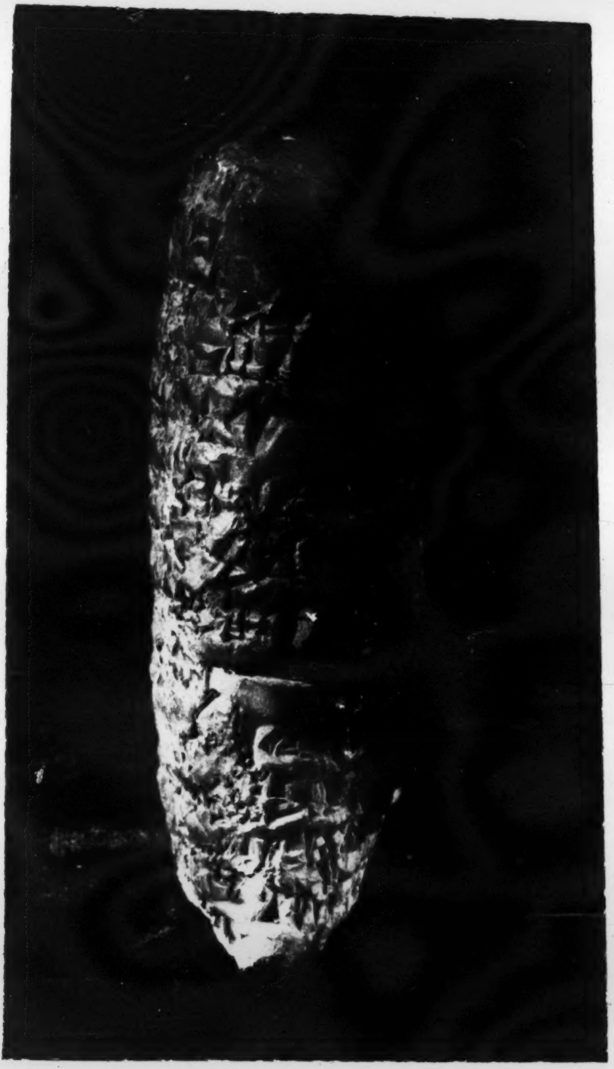


HH Reverse
(CBS 10314)



II Obverse

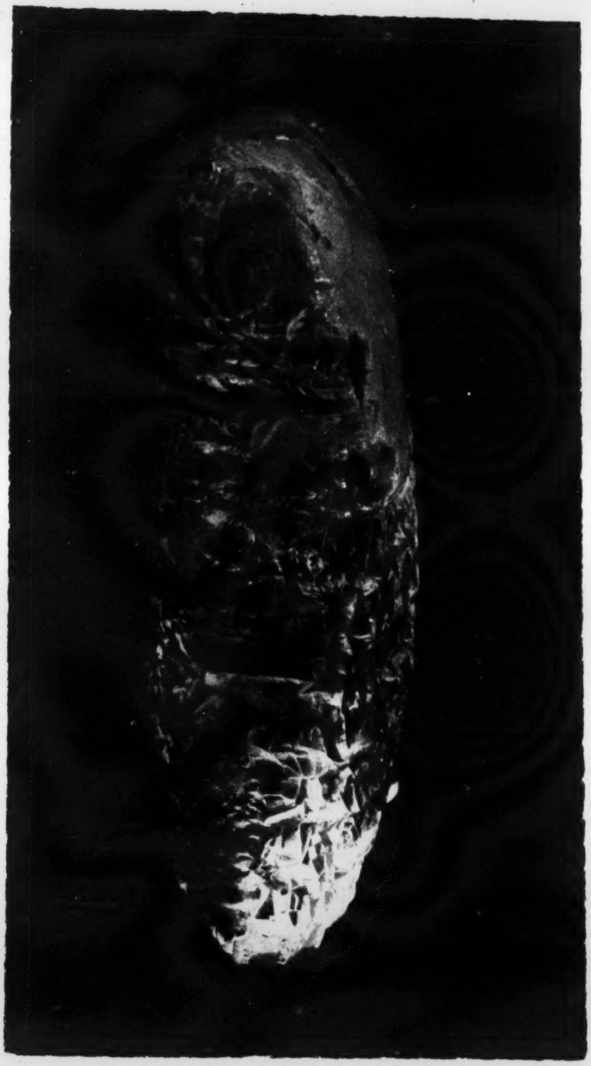
(CBS 10350)



II Obv. (Right Edge)

(CBS 10350)

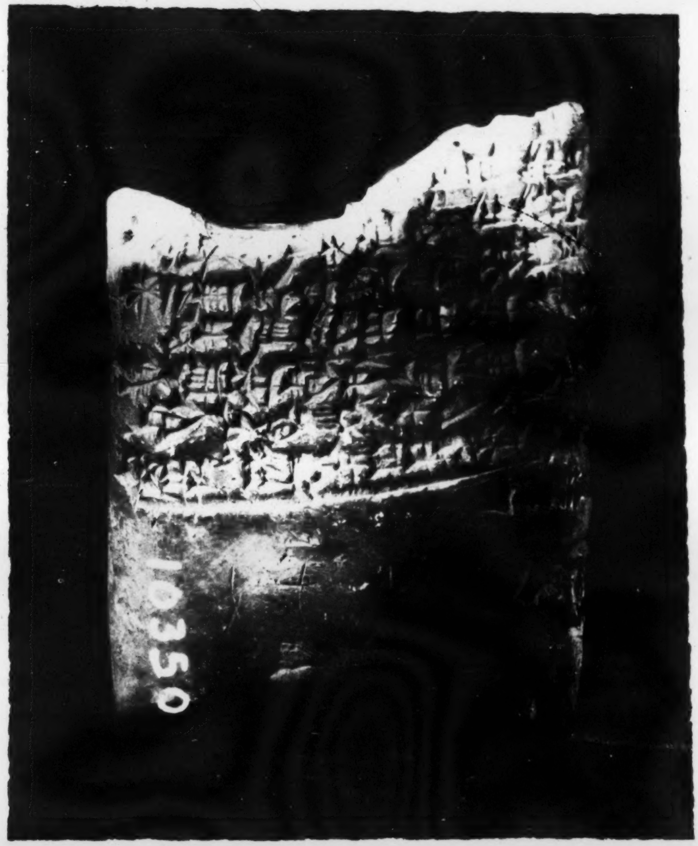
PLATE -IX B-



II Obv. (Right Edge)

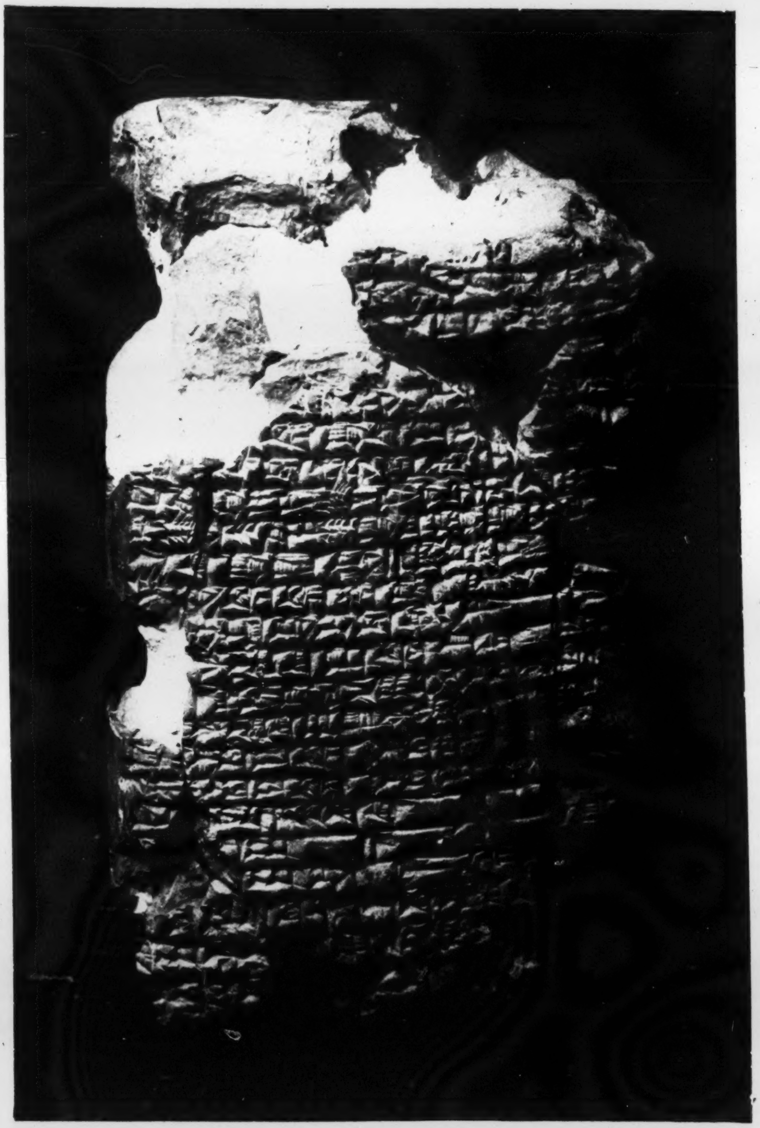
(CBS 10350)

PLATE -X-



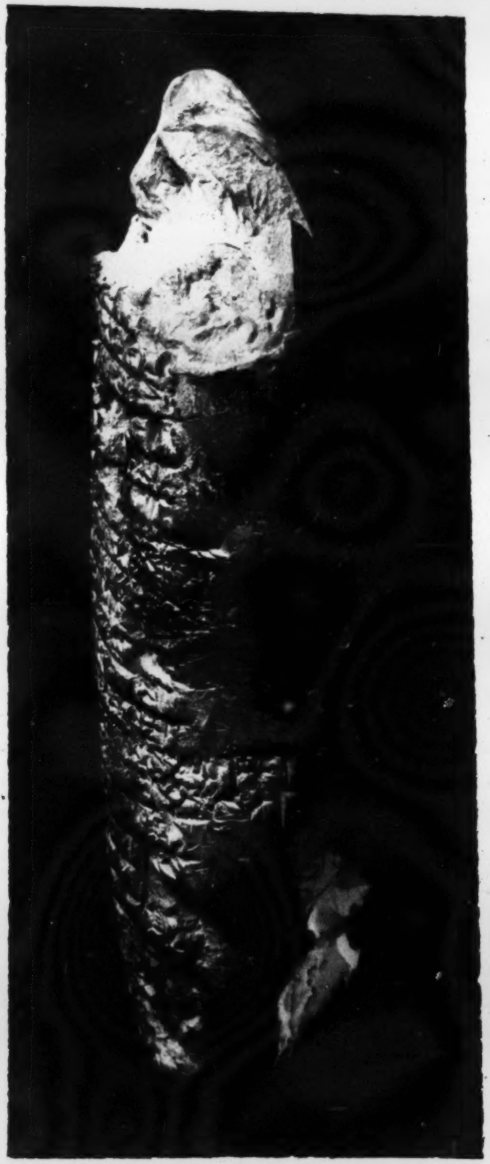
II Reverse

(CBS 10350)



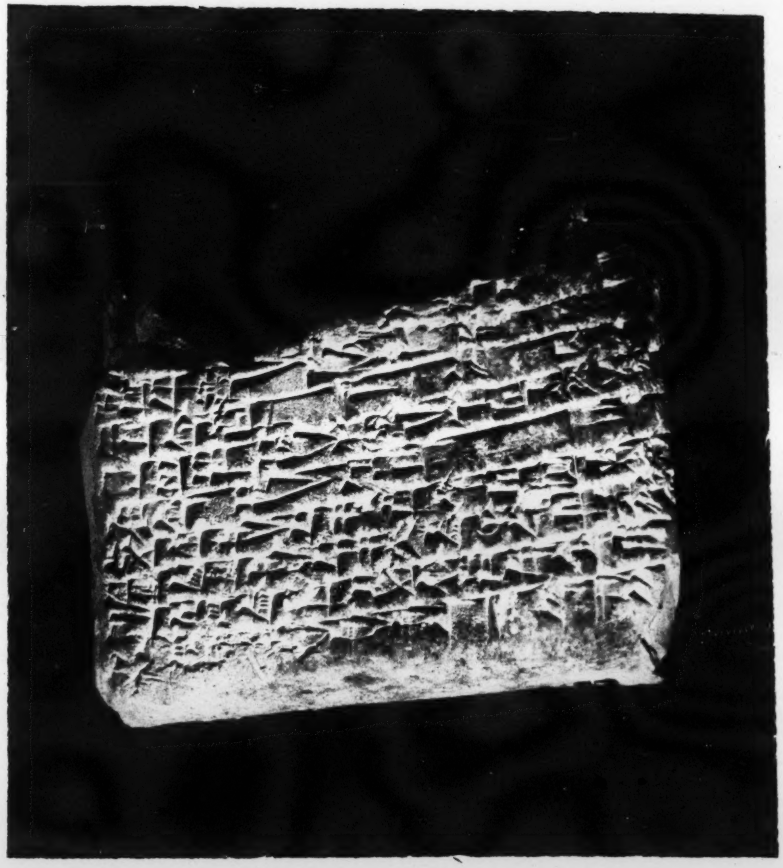
JJ Obverse

(UM 29-13-207)



JJ Obv. (Right Edge)

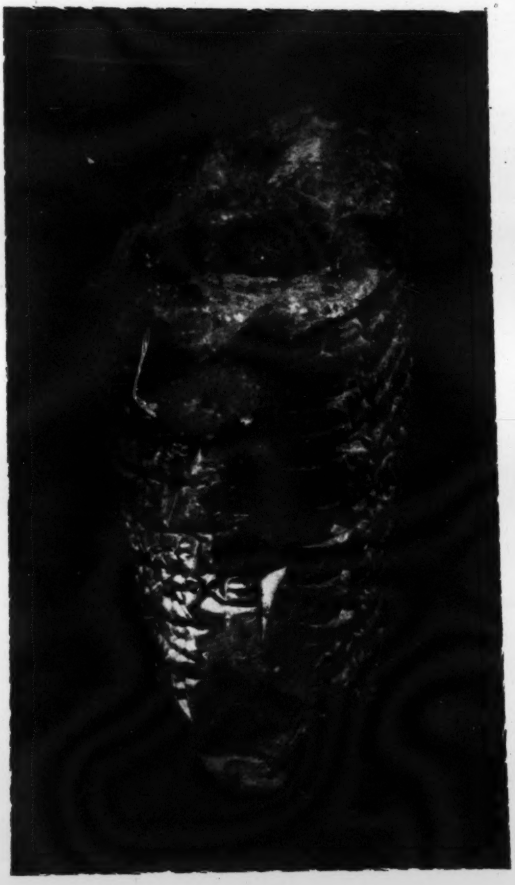
(UM 29-13-207)



LL Obverse

(UM 29-16-184)

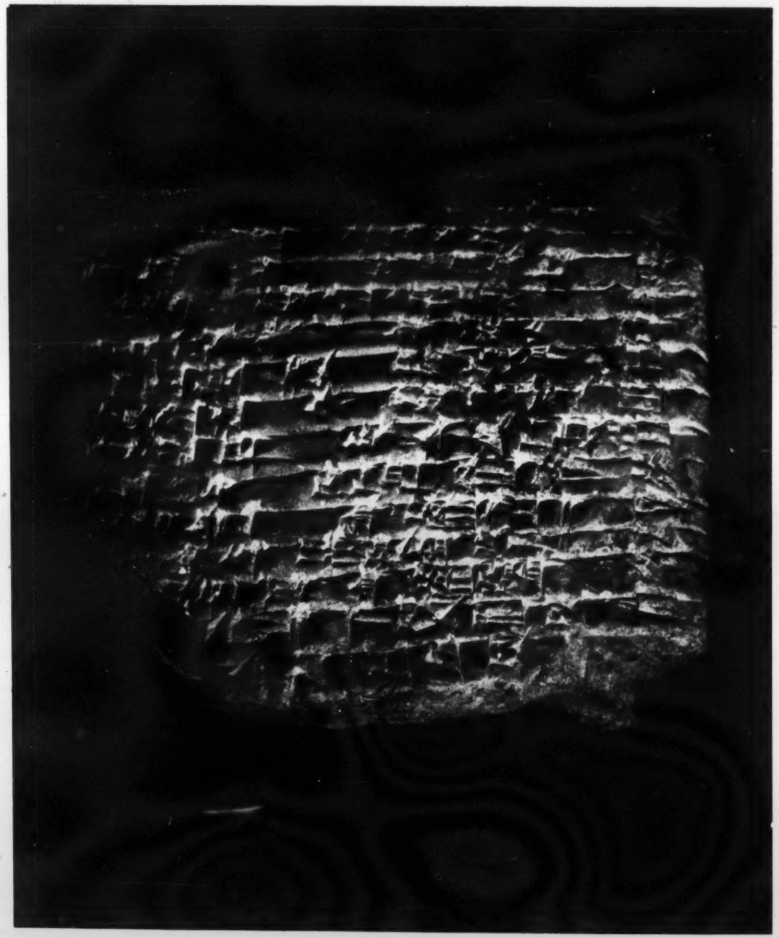
PLATE -XV-



LL Obv. (Right Edge)

(UM 29-16-184)

PLATE -XVI-



LL Reverse

(UM 29-16-184)

NN Obverse

(N 3515)

PLATE -XVIII-

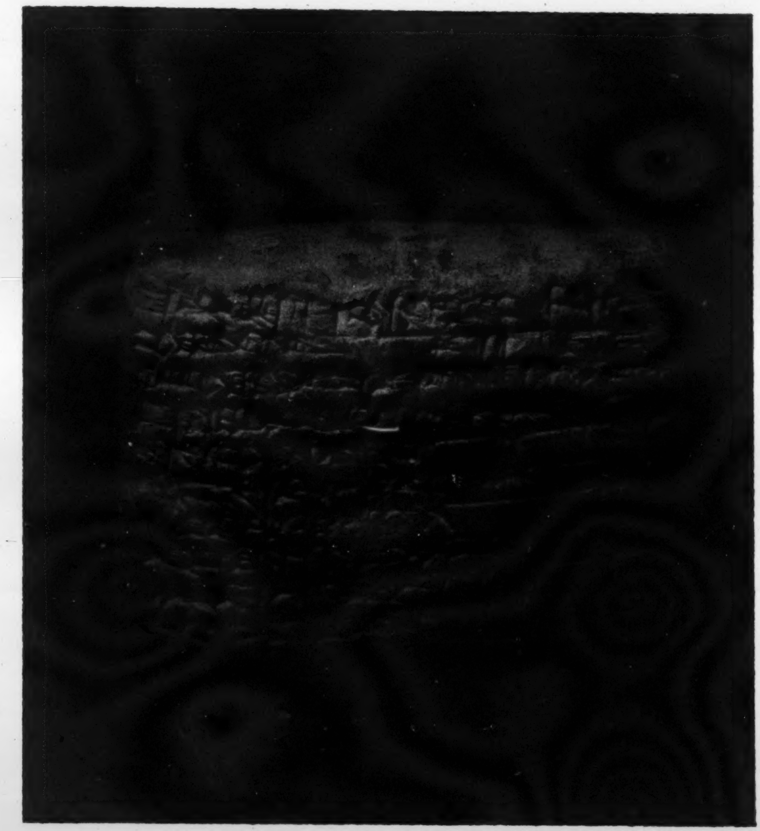
NN Obv. (Right Edge)

(N 3515)

PLATE -XIX-

NN Reverse

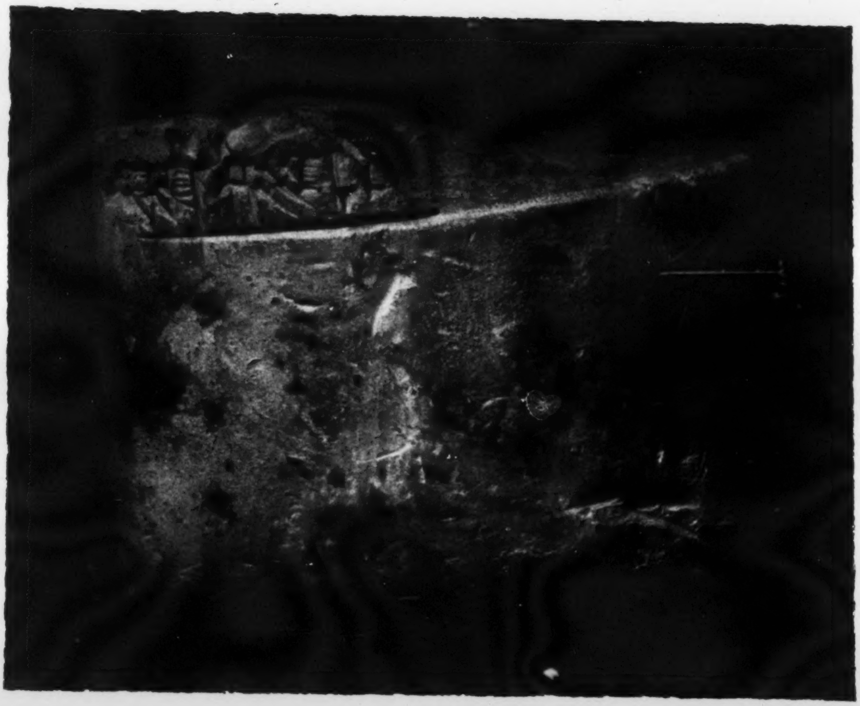
(N 3515)



OO Obverse

(N 4183)

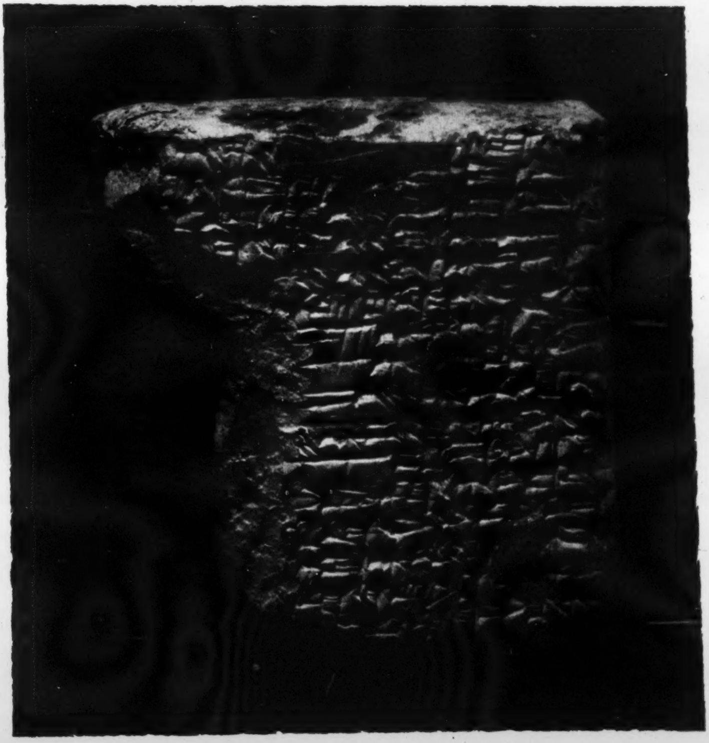
PLATE -XXI-



OO Reverse

(N 4183)

PLATE -XXII-



PP Obverse

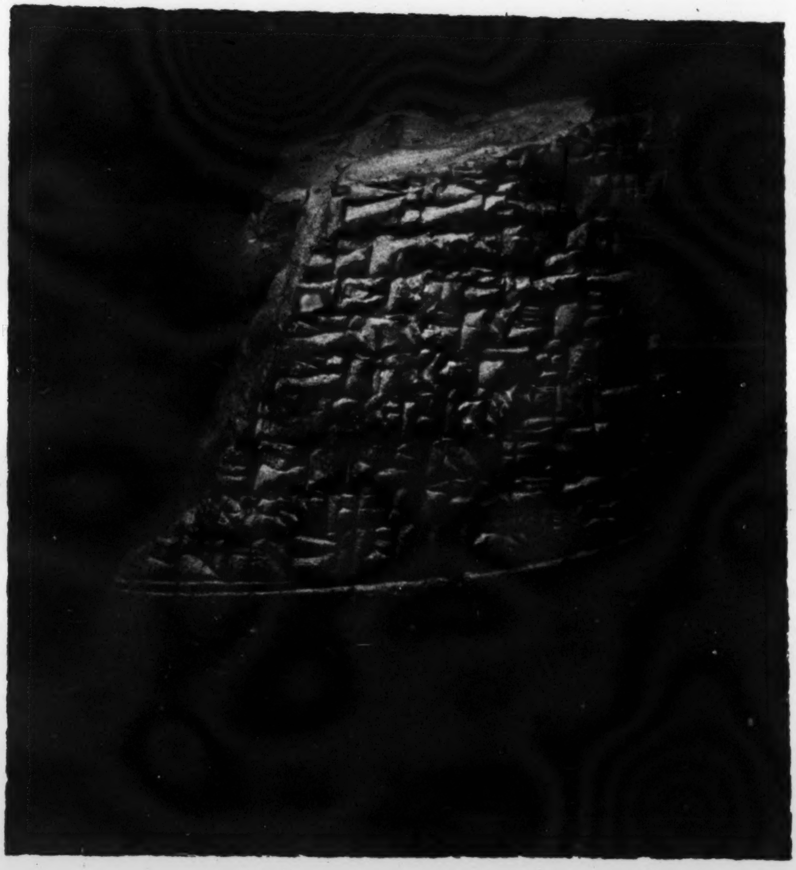
(N 4182)

PLATE -XXIII-

PP Obv. (Right Edge)

(N 4182)

PLATE -XXIV-



PP Reverse

(N 4182)